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Living in a City of the Dead: A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis

Ventura, Raphael

Abstract: The village of Deir el-Medina in Western Thebes has yielded an enormous quantity of written documents composed by the local scribes throughout the Ramesside Period. These documents illuminate sharply the living conditions and the activities of a unique community of workmen, whose lives were devoted to the preparation and safeguarding of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. By the very nature of their activities, the workmen of Deir el-Medina and their families had knowledge of a most precious kept secret, that of the whereabouts of the hidden, rock-cut royal tombs and their layout. To avoid the diffusion of this information to potential tomb-robbers, the Egyptian administration devised a whole series of measures which brought about an almost total isolation for the workmen and their family. Under these extreme conditions, a special society developed, unparalleled elsewhere in Egypt, which was self-sufficient in many respects. To understand thoroughly the documents of this site, one has to familiarize oneself with the various topographical and administrative terms recurring in them, which, having been locally coined, held little meaning to outsiders and even less to the modern investigator. The purpose of this book has been to define the most basic among these terms by using internal evidence only, and by carefully differentiating between their official and colloquial uses. By providing a set of well researched and abundantly documented basic terms, the author has been able to reveal a coherent picture of life and work in the desert under very restricting and yet bearable conditions. The emphasis put by Cerny on the royal tomb under construction is shown to be excessive, and the village of Deir el-Medina comes out as a center of activity not less important, in the eyes of its inhabitants, than the Valley of the Kings.

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ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-151167>

Monograph

Published Version

Originally published at:

Ventura, Raphael (1986). Living in a City of the Dead: A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis. Freiburg, Switzerland / Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck Ruprecht.

VENTURA · LIVING IN A CITY OF THE DEAD

ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

Im Auftrag des Biblischen Instituts der Universität
Freiburg Schweiz
des Seminars für biblische Zeitgeschichte
der Universität Münster i. W.
und der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft
für orientalische Altertumswissenschaft
herausgegeben von
Othmar Keel
unter Mitarbeit von Erich Zenger und Albert de Pury

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RAPHAEL VENTURA

LIVING IN A CITY
OF THE DEAD

A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms
in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN
1986

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Ventura, Raphael:

Living in a city of the Dead.

A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms
in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis. /

Raphael Ventura.

Freiburg (Schweiz): Universitätsverlag

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986.

(Orbis biblicus et orientalis; 69)

ISBN 3-7278-0355-X (Universitätsverlag)

ISBN 3-525-53696-8 (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht)

NE: GT

Publication subsidized
by the Swiss Academy of Humanities

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Paulusdruckerei Freiburg Schweiz

Digitalisat erstellt durch Florina Tischhauser,
Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar, Universität Zürich

TO THE MEMORY OF
RAPHAEL GIVEON
who introduced me to
Egyptology

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IX
PREFACE	XI
Chapter I P3 HR	1
Chapter II ST-M3CT	38
Chapter III HNW, BNR, HNT, RWDW, HWTYW, SŠ N P3 HR, HRY SŠW-KDW, MRYT	64
Chapter IV P3 HTM N P3 HR	83
Chapter V PIRYW-C3	107
Chapter VI T3 5 PINT	120
Chapter VII T3 PINT	145
Chapter VIII CONCLUSIONS	169
APPENDIX	187
ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	193
INDEXES	201
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	227

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research on which this book is based was undertaken for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago.

My indebtedness to Jaroslav Černý's work on the community of workmen cannot be overemphasized; whether one accepts his final conclusions or not, to him goes the credit of having, through sheer genius and the untiring dedication of a life-long Egyptological career, transformed a bulky collection of documents into an orderly, fascinating and promising discipline. Without the guidelines set by Černý, it would have been impossible to conduct this research.

To Professor Edward F. Wente I owe the interest I have acquired for unofficial documents as well as my initiation to the various methods of research. To him, to Professor Janet H. Johnson, and particularly to Professor Klaus Baer I am very much indebted for many ideas and for a most helpful guidance; Their steady encouragement enabled me to overcome the most critical stages of my work.

To Professor Mordechai Gilula I wish to extend my deep gratitude for having actively encouraged me to undertake graduate studies at the University of Chicago, and for innumerable small kindnesses which are not easily forgotten. Professor Raphael Giveon, a special teacher and friend, has always been there when I needed him with advice and criticism; I am sure I owe him more than I can realize.

I consider it a happy privilege to thank Mr. Raphael Recanatti for having generously backed my three-year stay in Chicago. Without his help my studies there and this work would have been terminated prematurely.

Professor Dr. Othmar Keel who accepted to publish this book and provided a most kind and patient assistance deserves all my gratitude and appreciation. Finally, I would like to thank Miss Ady Ginzburg and Mrs. Naama Azulay, graduate students of Egyptology at the Tel Aviv University, for their assistance in the compilation of the indexes, Mrs. Ora Paran for the drawing of the maps, and the members of my family for their patience and understanding.

PREFACE

The realization that unofficial documents are at least as valuable for the investigation of the History of the Late New Kingdom as their official counterparts, is several decades old. The study of unofficial documents has resulted in the accumulation of formerly undetected details that have added depth and perspective to our view of the period. Yet their most spectacular contribution to Egyptology was an indirect one; it has to do with the methodology of research. In order to profit fully from the potential historical information contained in the unofficial documents, new patterns of thought and new methods of investigation had to be devised. These are now gradually becoming standard procedure in modern Egyptological research.

However, the voluminous bulk of unofficial documents of the Ramesside Period, some of which still remain unpublished, has proved to be too cumbersome an apparatus for easy and confident manipulation. As a result, only a privileged few, who have had direct contact with the source material and who have devoted considerable effort to its assimilation, have been able to make proper use of it, while others, i.e., the majority of the Egyptologists, have had to rely on the knowledge and the files of those few, and to accept often uncritically their judgement, however good that might be, whenever they happened to become interested in a problem of that period. With the passing away of Jaroslav Černý, and the tragic death of Serge Sauneron, the number of those who are really acquainted with the documents has dwindled significantly, and the need for a handy codification of the material has become acute.

It is perhaps because of this state of affairs that Jaroslav Černý's posthumously published book A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period has been enthusiastically welcomed by all those whose interest lies in the history of the Ramesside Period. Even though it was not conceived as a technical reference manual to the administrative documents of the period, the sheer amount of information it contains, and several chronological lists of office holders in the community of workmen that are appended to it, turn it into an invaluable tool for general use. In fact, no sooner had it been published than it became heavily cited in subsequent studies of the period. This situation is hardly surprising since the documents from Western Thebes are the richest and most varied

collection of data ever to be retrieved in Egypt for a single period.

Much still remains to be done in order to make the material available for handy use. The most urgent task is, as always, the publication of all the material. Kitchen (Ramesseide Inscriptions)¹, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, and the Egyptian Museum of Turin are currently active in that direction. In parallel with that activity, some preliminary work is necessary in order to establish a sound apparatus for the interpretation of the material that has already been published as well as that which will eventually be. A documented catalogue of names and titles of individuals who figure in the numerous papyri, ostraca, graffiti, stelae, private tomb inscriptions etc., from the Theban Necropolis has been announced by the French. It is intended to supplement or replace the partial "repertoire onomastique". Bierbrier, (The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664)), has contributed to the formulation of several genealogical interconnections among the families of the workmen, and Cerny has composed chronological lists of office holders in Deir el-Medina including pertinent biographical data. The documents have been utilized for research in specialized fields as well such as economy, law, language and chronology. Lately Zonhoven has compiled a systematic bibliography on Deir el-Medina².

Soon enough it became apparent that any interpretative work based upon the documents of the community of workmen of Western Thebes ought to take into account the specific peculiarities of the Deir el-Medina administration.

1 The publication of texts in Kitchen's Ramesseide Inscriptions was terminated after the completion of the manuscript. Therefore, the reader will not find as many references to this most handy publication as might be desired. To compensate for the omission, appropriate references have been appended to the index of documents. In a few cases, documents claimed in the text to be unpublished can now be checked in Kitchen's Ramesseide Inscriptions. Other books on Deir el-Medina that have not been considered because they became available to me after the completion of the manuscript are: M.L. Bierbrier, The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs, London, 1982; R.J. Demarée, J.J. Janssen (editors), Gleanings from Deir el-Medina (=Egyptologische Uitgaven I), Leyden, 1982; M. Gutgesell, Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation (=HAB 18,19), Hildesheim, 1983.

2 L.M.J. Zonhoven, "A Systematic Bibliography on Deir el-Medina" in R.J. Demarée, J.J. Janssen (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medina, Leyden, 1982. Pp. 245-298.

These peculiarities do not fail to turn up, whatever the subject of investigation may be. They stem from the fact that the conditions of life and work of that group of people were quite different from what is known to have been the case for the rest of their contemporaries.

Particularly the scribes of that administration, who wrote down most of the documents we are speaking about, generally were people who were born and educated within the community, and did not have the opportunity to acquire the style of writing that was commonly encountered in the well-established schools of the royal court and the principal temples. Not only were they physically isolated from the centers of learning, but they were also professionally so, their main occupation being the maintenance of a smooth local administration that was self-sufficient in many respects. As a natural consequence, their style and terminology became eventually adapted to local conditions and borrowed many expressions from the language that was current among the workmen.

This is particularly true for terms of topographical nature. The intimate topography of the necropolis region was the concern of those who lived and worked in it. Place names coined by the workmen that could have hardly held any meaning to outsiders found their way into the documents composed by these local scribes. Therefore, one urgent task is to identify those terms even before submitting the documents to an overall interpretation, since the latter may frequently depend upon the former.

Much the same holds true for terms denoting status and functions within the community of workmen. Here again, the uniqueness of the activities of its members and the special conditions under which they performed, brought about the introduction of numerous terms that had no exact counterpart elsewhere.

It is with some of these terms, topographical and administrative, that we shall be dealing in this book. All of them are well-known, since they occur abundantly in the documents, and most have been discussed by scholars on several occasions. Controversies have arisen concerning their interpretation, without resolution. In his A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, Černý has summed up the various views and has clarified his own standpoint regarding most of these terms. Some of his conclusions regarding that community are directly dependent upon his rendering of those terms.

Owing to Černý's unquestioned authority on matters regarding Deir el-Medina and the widespread popularity of his book, the definitions proposed by him have been adopted by most scholars without criticism. Yet, as far as some terms are concerned, his views prove to be less dependable than the overall volume of his tremendous contribution to the study of those documents would at first suggest.

The definition of terms is generally thought of as a preamble after which the main discussion of the subject is expected to follow. In this respect the present study is exceptional, term-defining being its main essence. Whatever discussion was required for the process of definition or for the clarification of its significance has been interwoven among the definitions themselves. The same is true for occasional conclusions that supply new interpretations of the various elements of the Theban Necropolis.

This method of presentation has been imposed by the choice of terms to be discussed, which are among the most fundamental for the understanding of the community of workmen of the Theban Necropolis, as well as by the state of our background knowledge regarding that community, which is still labile in many respects.

Under such circumstances very little could be taken for granted. The main difficulty was caused by the following paradoxical situation. In order to demonstrate the validity of a new definition, one ought to rely on the interpretation of documents that contain the defined form; on the other hand, the interpretations could only be reliable if they were derived from secure definitions of the principal terms involved.

The only way out of this situation was to act in both directions simultaneously; that is, to revise the interpretations of all documents containing a given term immediately after that term was defined but before undertaking the definition of another term. The success of this process depends, among other things, upon the order in which the various terms are taken up for discussion and, particularly, upon the extent to which the overall picture is modified following each definition to provide an improved background against which subsequent terms can be studied more profitably.

It is with due apprehension of the responsibility inherent in tampering with the foundations of an edifice, but also with the conviction that, unless the foundations are solid, the edifice has little chance of survival in the long run, that the following interpretations are presented.

CHAPTER I: P3 HR

The term p3 hr is very common in the documents of the Theban necropolis¹. Its occurrences can be subdivided as follows:

- a. Independently; As in iw.f hr i i r p3 hr² "he came to p3 hr", or imy i ri. tw t3 knbt m p3 hr m-s3 hpw n m3Ct³ "Let the tribunal be held in p3 hr according to the regulations of m3Ct".
- b. In combinations of the type: "Noun + n p3 hr"; These may be further subdivided according to the nature of the noun. The latter can be a title, as in hry-md3yw n p3 hr⁴ "chief of Police of p3 hr"; a collective, as in t3 i st n p3 hr⁵ "the crew (of workmen) of p3 hr" or sšw i sy n p3 hr⁶ "old writings of p3 hr"; a topographical element, as in t3 whyt n p3 hr⁷ "the settlement of p3 hr"⁸.
- c. In combinations of the type: "P3 hr n + noun"; The place of the noun in this combination can be occupied by one of the following. A king's name as in p3 hr (n) nswt Dsr-hpr-RC-stp-n-RC C.w.s.⁹ "the tomb of King Dsr-hpr-RC-stp-n-RC (Horemheb) L.P.H."; the name of a prominent member of the royal family as in p3 hr n hmt-nswt 3st n Wsr-m3Ct-RC-mry-Imn C.w.s.¹⁰ "the tomb of the king's wife of Wsr-m3Ct-RC-mry-Imn (Ramesses III) L.P.H. Isis"; an expression denoting royalty as in p3 hr n Pr-C3 "the tomb of Pharaoh/the royal (pharaonic) p3 hr"¹¹; a title or an epithet designating a member or members of the royal family as in p3 hr n p3 ktn "the tomb of the Charioteer"¹².

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- 1 Černý speaks about "some seven hundred examples of the word" hr. Černý, Community, 7.
 - 2 Ostr. Cairo CG 25504 rto. I, 8. Černý, Ostraca CGC, 2*.
 - 3 Ostr. Michaelides 47 rto. 3. Goedicke/Wente, Ostraka Michaelides, pl. 50.
 - 4 Černý, Community, 261 n. 2.
 - 5 Ibid., 99 n. 1.
 - 6 Pap. Turin Cat. 1978/208 rto. 3. Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 97.
 - 7 Ostr. Cairo CG 25581 vso. 1. Černý, Ostraca CGC, 32*.
 - 8 For this rendering see below, p. 184 n. 44.
 - 9 Černý, Community, 8 n. 6. For additional examples see *ibid.*, 8 nn. 1, 2, 3, 5; 9 n. 1.
 - 10 Pap. Abbott 4, 16. Peet, GTR, pl. 2. For additional examples see Černý, Community, 9 nn. 6-8.
 - 11 Černý, Community, 12-13. This term will be discussed in detail further on.
 - 12 Ostr. Turin N. 57031 rto. II, 10-11. Lopez, Ostraca Ieratici I, pl. 20. The charioteer in question was probably P3-RC-hr-wnm.f, son of Ramesses III, called elsewhere in this ostrakon p3 ktn n Wsr-m3Ct-RC-mry-Imn (cf. Černý, Community, 10). Another ostrakon of the same find in the Valley of the Queens, Ostr. Turin N. 57018 (Lopez, *op. cit.*, pl. 11), mentions, in fact, the ktn n ihw (n) RC-mss-hk3-Iwnw n hnw, s3-nswt P3-RC-hr-wnm.f m3C-hrw, "Charioteer of the stable (of) RC-mss-hk3-Iwnw (Ramesses III)".

The compounds of group b comprise, among other things, most of the topographical and administrative terms pertaining to the Royal Theban Necropolis of the Ramesside Period and its community of workmen¹³, the connection being apparent by the repeated occurrences of these terms in documents of that region and nowhere else. Frequently, it is only through a combination with p3 hr such as the one demonstrated in group b that a noun of general use may become a specific term of the Theban Necropolis.

Thus, p3 hr stands out as an element of special importance for the understanding of the Theban Necropolis and its terminology. Consequently, the

of the Residence, King's son P3-RC-hr-wmm.f, justified."

The verso of Ostr.Turin N.57031 alludes to another tomb of a royal son of Ramesses III, namely HC-m-W3st, by the mere title stm (for this prince's titles see Gauthier, LdR III, 177 No.8). The tomb of one of Ramesses' II children, Mry-ꜣtmw, is once referred to as p3 r-c b3kw n wr m33w Mry-ꜣtmw, "the work in progress of the 'Great of Seers' Mry-ꜣtmw" (Ostr.Cairo J.72460 rto.2; cf. Thomas, Studies Hughes, 211), while elsewhere the same prince is only mentioned by his title (there, rto.4, *ibid.*).

The purpose of these remarks is to enable a better understanding of an entry in Pap.Vienna 30, II.8 (=Pap.Ambras), Peet, GTR, pl.38, where p3 hr n p3 imy-r mšc wr is mentioned. Černý has proposed to assign "the tomb of the Generalissimo" to P3y-Cnh who bore that title at the time Pap.Ambras was written (Černý, Community, 9 n.9). Apart from the fact that P3y-Cnh's earliest attestation is from year 7 of the whm-mswt (Kitchen, TIP, 23) whereas Pap.Ambras dates from year 6 of that era, the contents of that papyrus are retrospective so that the generalissimo in question could have lived long before P3y-Cnh. In view of the use of the term hr, which was restricted to kings and members of the royal family of the New Kingdom, we may conclude that here again a prince's tomb had been qualified by the mere title of its owner in the original document (a tomb-robberies papyrus), and was so transferred into Pap.Ambras. The title of Generalissimo was frequently bestowed upon princes (Gardiner, AEO I, 21*). I would, however, hesitate to accept Thomas's view that the reigning king, and Ramesses II at that, would suffer to be qualified by just this title (Thomas, Studies Hughes, 213) and would therefore suggest that p3 imy-r mšc wr whose tomb seems to be intended in Ostr.Cairo J.72460 rto.6 (*ibid.*, 211), was a king's son after all, and that the tombs mentioned in that ostrakon are more likely to be found in the Valley of the Queens than in the Valley of the Kings (cf. Ostr. Turin N.57037 in Lopez, Ostraca Ieratici I, pl.24 and Černý, Community, 10-11 where it bears the number 5664).

13 Cf. lists of terms in Černý, Community, 16-18.

determination of its significance should have precedence over the investigation of other definitions.

Černý, who was aware of the special importance of p3 hr¹⁴, devoted as many as three chapters, at the very beginning of his book A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, to its study¹⁵. His conclusions regarding the nature of p3 hr became, as could be expected, a predominant factor in his determination of the definitions of additional terms.

Despite the thoroughness of Černý's treatment of the term p3 hr¹⁶, it is now apparent that if one approaches the problem from a slightly different angle than he did, the same set of examples quoted or mentioned by Černý in support of his theory can be made to yield results which differ considerably not only from Černý's conclusion regarding the identity of p3 hr, but also, to a varying extent, from definitions which have been put forward by proponents of alternative theories. Since the validity of any determination of identity, and particularly that of a term of as basic a nature as p3 hr seems to be, should not depend upon the angle of approach, it has been deemed necessary to reconsider the whole subject.

In order to provide a convenient reference to the principal arguments on which the currently accepted definitions of the term are based, these arguments have been grouped and summarized in the following lists:

Černý's line of argumentation (LIST A)

1. Hr was a term denoting the tomb of a king or of a prominent member of the royal family. It was a tomb of a special type, in use during the Ramesside Period¹⁷.
2. The normal way to designate a specific hr was "p3 hr n NN" (cf. our group c).
3. The term Pr-C3 was never utilized in reference to a dead king¹⁸.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1-28.

¹⁶ Černý passes in detailed review the interpretations of the term p3 hr and the scholarly discussions concerning them which were published until c. 1953-1954; in later years, it is true, there has been little additional debate on that subject; one should however consult the following: Baer, *Orientalia* 34, 1965, 428 n.2, 431 n.4, 432 n.1; Thomas, *JEA* 49, 1963, 57-63; idem, *RNT*, 50; Wente, *JNES* 32, 1973, 224(a), 227 and n.21.

¹⁷ Černý, *Community*, 13-14.

¹⁸ Ibid., 13 and n.1.

Hence,

4. p3 hr n Pr-^c3 should be understood as referring always to the tomb of the reigning king (the only king alive at the time of mention). That tomb was naturally the most important one in the Royal Necropolis from the point of view of the authorities and the workmen alike, and the most apt to be mentioned in the documents of that community, "The Tomb" par excellence¹⁹.
5. Bare p3 hr, i.e., without any restricting epithets, could therefore refer to nothing but the aforementioned specific tomb of the reigning king such an attribution being the only acceptable excuse for not mentioning the owner. Thus, p3 hr was equivalent to p3 hr n Pr-^c3²⁰.
6. Additional evidence proving the validity of the latter equation can be found in the titles of a few scribes of the Necropolis who were active during the reign of Ramesses XI. Sš n p3 hr, sš n p3 hr n Pr-^c3, as well as longer variants up to the maximal sš n p3 hr ^c3 špsy n hhw m rnpwt n Pr-^c3 c.w.s. hr imntt W3st "scribe of the Great and Noble hr of Millions of Years of Pharaoh L.P.H. in Western Thebes", can be shown to be equivalent versions of the same title in the titularies of these scribes and, therefore, interchangeable. Consequently, p3 hr was just an abbreviation of p3 hr n Pr-^c3²¹.

In order to disprove the theory which regards p3 hr as a designation of the Theban Necropolis rather than that of the King's Tomb, Černý advanced the following series of arguments²²:

Černý's arguments against the identification of p3 hr with the Theban Necropolis (List B).

1. "p3 hr n + Noun" containing a substantive other than Pr-^c3 or the name of the reigning king cannot possibly mean "Necropolis", since the necropolis as a collective could never be formally associated with a particular dead king or with a living member of the royal family other than, conceivably, the king himself²³.

¹⁹ Ibid., 17.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 22-24 and particularly the lists therein.

²² Černý rejects this theory categorically as can be deduced from *ibid.*, 4-5 and *passim*.

²³ Ibid., 12.

2. p3 hr n Pr-C3, on the other hand, is liable to be mistaken for a designation of the Royal Necropolis; However, this very combination has been encountered in contexts that do not refer to a whole necropolis but rather to one specific tomb as in "Beginning to paint p3 hr špsy n Pr-C3"²⁴ or "(the) first door of p3 hr špsy n Pr-C3"²⁵. If this argument holds true for the examples that have been just quoted, it should hold true everywhere else.
3. Among the examples which cannot accept the value "Necropolis" because of context considerations there are a few cases (quoted by Černý), wherein the pertinent term is a bare "p3 hr" and not "p3 hr n Pr-C3" as in "The scribe ʿImn-ḥtp began to draw the plan of p3 hr"²⁶. Hence, bare p3 hr cannot designate "Necropolis" any more than p3 hr n Pr-C3 can.
4. Since hr was "Royal Tomb", p3 hr could not be "Necropolis". A transfer of meanings from the single item to the collective without cogent reasons is unlikely²⁷.
5. Titularies of the type: "title + name + n p3 hr", which represent by far the most frequent occurrences of the term p3 hr in the documents²⁸ (cf. hry-md3yw Mntw-ms n p3 hr "Chief of Police of p3 hr Mntw-ms"), are commonly translated by "title + name + 'of the Necropolis'" only as a matter of convenience in order to dispense the translator from the obligation to discuss the identity of the unnamed owner of the hr in question, a discussion which is not always convenient to fit into a footnote²⁹.
6. The existing information about the aforementioned title-bearers n p3 hr, particularly in what regards their administrative affiliations and the nature of their activities, tends to indicate that these could not have been ordinary employees of the Theban Necropolis³⁰.

24 Ostr.IFAO 383,3(unpublished). Cf. *ibid.*, 12 n.3.

25 Ostr.Cairo CG 25676,7. Cf. *ibid.*, 12 n.8. For another example see *ibid.*, 12 n.9. Examples mentioned there in nn.6,7 are not necessarily of the same category since the translation "tomb" is not demanded by the context.

26 Ostr.Gardiner 70 rto.4 (Černý/Gardiner, H0, pl.48,1). Cf. Černý, Community, 12 n.2. For additional examples cf. *ibid.*, 11 n.7; 12 nn.1,5. These examples will be treated separately further on.

27 *Ibid.*, 16.

28 *Ibid.*, 7.

29 *Ibid.*, 15-16.

30 *Ibid.*, 16.

The theory which regards p3 hr as a designation of the Theban Necropolis has nevertheless had a long history the early stages of which have been conveniently summarized by Černý³¹. Lately, Thomas has argued in its favor and has added several considerations of her own. Her argumentation is harder to follow than Černý's is, mainly because she does not propose a clearcut solution to the problem of the identification of p3 hr, but impresses upon the reader that p3 hr could serve to designate any one of several notions, and that it is mainly up to the translator to decide which meaning fits the context of a particular document best.

Up to a certain point Thomas follows Peet who, dealing with the documents of the Tomb-Robberies, arrived at the following conclusions:

Peet's views regarding the definition of p3 hr (LIST C)

1. The term p3 hr C3 špsy n hhw m rnpwt n Pr- C3 C.w.s. hr imntt W3st could be abbreviated at will and was consequently equivalent to p3 hr n Pr-C3 or even to p3 hr. A simple comparison between the various versions of the title of P3-wr-C3, the Mayor of Western Thebes and Chief of Police of p3 hr, in Papyrus Abbott can demonstrate this point³².
2. The context in which the longer version of the term occurs proves that it was understood as a designation of the Theban Necropolis. Therefore, the same should be true for all its abbreviated forms as well³³.
3. P3 hr should include "all the royal and more important private tombs on the West of Thebes, not only the long line of royal tombs of the Eleventh and Seventeenth Dynasties in the foothills of the Dira Abu el-Naga, but also the tombs of the kings in the Valley of the Kings or Biban el-Muluk and those of the queens and princes in the Valley of the Queens"³⁴.
4. Since p3 hr was made up of different units some of which were widely separated from each other (as follows from C.3), each individual royal necropolis within p3 hr should be expected to have a separate name. The name of the Valley of the Queens for instance was t3 st nfrw³⁵.

31 Ibid., 1-4.

32 Cf. Pap. Abbott 1, 7-8 (=Peet, GTR, pl. 1) with Pap. Abbott 1, 9 (ibid.), 4, 9 (ibid., pl. 2) and 4, 5 (ibid.).

33 Peet, GTR, 9.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 9-10.

From this point Thomas takes the matter up and adds the following arguments:

Thomas's additions (LIST D)

1. Since each sector of the Theban Necropolis was a separate "place", Biban el-Moluk was naturally(sic) t3 st C3t, "the Great Place"³⁶. Its official name however, by the time of Dynasty XIX, was apparently derived from that of the king's tomb in process of construction³⁷.
2. Hr was the designation for single royal tombs and also for the entire Theban Necropolis (cf. C.2), a phenomenon which intrigued Peet.
3. Far from being "curious", this phenomenon was typically Egyptian and was caused by their "fondness for using the same word, phrase and even clause in one or more meanings". Therefore, not only hr but also the full formula p3 hr C3 špsy n hhw m rnpwt n Pr-C3 C.w.s. hr imntt W3st could be used for a single tomb as well as for the whole necropolis (since the short form was just an abbreviation of the full one)³⁸.
4. Both the long and the abbreviated forms served to designate the king's tomb in process of construction and the Theban Necropolis (cf. D.3) as well as the Valley of the Kings by the time of Dynasty XIX (cf. D.1).

Thomas's final conclusion is summarized by her as follows: "The King's Tomb, the Royal Necropolis, and by extension the entire Theban Necropolis-- this title as a whole (the long formula) down to its minimal abbreviation of p3 hr seems to have served the three individually and collectively by Dyn.21."³⁹ Elsewhere, when dealing with the name of the Valley of the Kings, she remarks: "The official name, moreover, could not only be abbreviated and extended. It could also be supplemented by the familiar t3 int, by other appellations on occasion (t3 st C3t) and I believe by the specific unique p3 hr hnt hnw / n hnw hnt that is our present concern."⁴⁰.

36 Thomas, RNT, 50.

37 Ibid.

38 Idem, JEA 49, 1963, 57.

39 Idem, RNT, 50.

40 Idem, JEA 49, 1963, 58. See also Peet, GTR, 9 n.1.

Egyptologists who have been confronted with the need to translate p3 hr have had to choose among the abovementioned theories, their predilection being apparent by the use of "tomb" or "necropolis" in their renderings of the term p3 hr⁴¹. Otto has identified p3 hr with the Valley of the Kings⁴². Wente, referring to the longer formula p3 hr c3 špsy etc., maintains that it was not limited to Biban el-Moluk⁴³. Baer seemingly accepts Thomas's equation of p3 hr with the entire Theban Necropolis and yet, all three examples he mentions in that regard are shown by him to be closely connected with the village of Deir el-Medina or its surroundings⁴⁴, a region that was mentioned neither by Peet nor by Thomas in connection with p3 hr.

Regretably, despite the seemingly well-founded argumentations, none of these theories is satisfactory to the point of allowing a confident manipulation of the numerous secondary terms containing "p3 hr" (cf. our groups b and c)⁴⁵ which occur all too frequently in the documents of the Necropolis. If these terms are to be properly identified there should be no ambiguity in our understanding of the basic term p3 hr. The haziness of the present situation in this respect can be easily demonstrated by considering the following examples.

How are we to understand the declaration of a workman that he will not remain in p3 hr⁴⁶. According to Černý it would mean that the workman would leave the king's tomb in course of construction which is an altogether different matter than wanting to leave the Valley of the Kings or to quit the Theban Necropolis which is what Otto or Thomas would have respectively advocated. Černý has insisted that p3 htm n p3 hr was the entrance or the closing of the king's tomb⁴⁷ which means that one should look for it at the tomb itself as part of its structure or in its closest vicinity in the Valley of the Kings. Thomas has translated "the fortress of the Necropolis"

41 Among relatively recent publications the rendering "tomb" has been adopted for p3 hr by: Bierbrier, JEA 58, 1972, 195; Eyre, Glimpses, 80; Černý/Groll, LEG, 104 (Ex. 358) and passim; Massart, MDAIK 15, 1957, 181; Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 433; Zonhoven, JEA 65, 1979, 97 and others. The rendering "necropolis" has been adopted by: Caminos, LEM, 253; Frandsen, Verbal System, 143 (Ex. 16) and passim; Helck, Materialien, 338; Iversen, JEA 65, 1979, 78; Janssen, JEA 52, 1966, 83; Allam, HOUP, 18, 19 n. 8 and others.

42 Otto, Topographie, 56-57.

43 Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 227 n. 21.

44 Baer, Orientalia 34, 1965, 428 n. 2; 431 n. 4; 432 n. 1.

45 See p. 1, above.

46 Pap. Salt 124, vso. 1, 8 (Černý, JEA 15, 1929, pl. 45).

47 Černý, Community, 162; idem, VK, 16 n. 4.

and has agreed that it was situated in the Valley of the Kings, though not necessarily at the very opening of a specific royal tomb⁴⁸. However, one might want to look for p3 htm n p3 hr elsewhere in the Theban Necropolis following the widest accepted interpretation of p3 hr; one would not look for it, however, in a region such as Deir el-Medina or the plain of the Royal Mortuary Temples since not even Peet, who had proposed "the Great Theban Necropolis", included those regions. When we try to identify the exact meaning of the 3ryw-C3 n p3 hr, we realize that Černý, following his own definition of p3 hr, has interpreted them as "doorkeepers of the Royal Tomb"⁴⁹. According to the alternative proposition they could have guarded the entrance to the Valley of the Kings or to some other royal necropolis of Western Thebes.

There are even more embarrassing situations wherein one gets the impression that neither one of the theories can provide an adequate solution; for instance, whC(w) n p3 hr can hardly be rendered "fisherman of the king's tomb"⁵⁰; "Fisherman of the Valley of the Kings" is equally improbable. On the other hand, "fisherman of the Theban Necropolis", though acceptable in principle, is vague, whereas the impression one gets from the documents is that the definition of this term should be sharp and specific⁵¹. Many more examples of similar nature can be presented⁵².

Under those circumstances a thorough revision of the existing theories is advisable, in quest of possible improvements of the argumentation. Another way of proceeding is to formulate a new theory by attacking the problem from a different direction.

We have preferred the second alternative because it enables an orderly presentation of the arguments. Moreover, the more one studies the course of reasoning in the currently accepted theories, the more one becomes convinced that their inadequacy to provide a satisfactory definition of p3 hr is not due to an error of argumentation; The problem is more fundamental and can be traced to a couple of basic assumptions which are never formulated or discussed in connection with p3 hr since their validity has been erroneously taken for granted. One of them is the assumption that since hr was

48 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 62.

49 Černý, Community, 170-171.

50 Ibid., 193 n.5.

51 For these fishermen see Helck, Materialien, 816-32.

52 Some of these "problematic" terms, n3 htrw n p3 hr "the dues of p3 hr", hnr n p3 hr "working tools of p3 hr", will be discussed further on in this chapter.

"royal tomb", p3 hr could be nothing but a term denoting a specific hr, i.e., a specific royal tomb or, at most, a collective of royal tombs, a royal necropolis. The other is the assumption that a term should necessarily have the same meaning in both the official and colloquial languages, or that official and colloquial formulae may be utilized indiscriminately in order to substantiate a definition. Both assumptions are inherent in all the theories regarding p3 hr that have been hitherto published while it is my belief that their validity should be seriously questioned. The matter will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

In our alternative theory no connection whatsoever between the noun hr and the term p3 hr will be assumed a priori; if there was a connection, its nature will have to be demonstrated by the evidence of the documents. Examples of nouns and noun-adjective combinations which took on meanings that were quite different from their basic values as soon as they were utilized as topographical or administrative terms are not lacking; P3 šn⁵³, T3yw-d3y(t)⁵⁴, ṽInb hd⁵⁵, Pr-C3 and the like can bear evidence to the effect that our precaution may not be considered excessive.

Hr, "royal tomb", was a common noun applied to tombs of kings and members of the royal family during the Ramesside Period. A hr possessed specific features which distinguished it from other tombs of the same period⁵⁶. Like any other noun, hr may be utilized in the singular or plural, and may be preceded by the definite, the indefinite or "zero" articles⁵⁷.

Since the identity of its owner was the most logical datum for telling apart one royal tomb from another, a specific royal tomb should be expected to be mentioned by means of the formula "p3 hr n NN" (where "n NN" is a genitival construction containing the name of the owner or some equally

53 See Gardiner, AEO II, 66*-67*.

54 Spiegelberg, ZAS 53, 1918, 2.

55 Gardiner, AEO II, 122*.

56 See n.17, above.

57 For the defined plural see Černý, Community, 10; The passage quoted there mentioning the tombs of the royal children belongs to Ostr. Oriental Institute, Chicago 16991 rto.11 - vso.3, for which see Wente, JNES 20, 1961, 252ff.

For the use of the singular with "zero" article see Černý, Community, 11 n.4.

The defined singular p3 hr is, of course, by far the most common form in which the word hr is encountered in the documents.

identifying element such as his title). Thus, p3 hr n nswt NN was the normal way of referring to the tomb of King NN⁵⁸

p3 hr, on the other hand, was a term applied by the inhabitants of the Theban Necropolis to an unknown but specific entity which we seek to determine. The term p3 hr was used quite frequently by the workmen and their superiors during the Ramesside Period as can be deduced by its numerous attestations in their documents.

Outwardly, p3 hr coincides with the defined singular form of the noun hr; there are, moreover, grounds to believe that the name p3 hr may have been coined as a result of an association of ideas (which, unfortunately, we cannot reconstruct) linking the entity we are after with some particular hr or with the abstract notion of "royal tomb". Finally, the name p3 hr was utilized by the same people who were intimately involved in the preparation of the royal tombs and it figures repeatedly in both their casual and administrative documents most of which were written in the local colloquial.

All this suggests that the entity in question belonged to the realm of those people. It also implies that one should apply great caution when trying to pinpoint occurrences of the term, inasmuch as those same documents should be suspect of containing abundant mentions of various hr-tombs and particularly of the hr which was being prepared for the reigning king, the latter construction being the focal point of those workmen's activities.

Apart from these points of contact between hr and p3 hr, which may be of assistance to anyone who wants to investigate the historical development of the term, but which constitute a source of considerable confusion to those who have tried to establish the identity of the term p3 hr, p3 hr should be considered as an absolutely independent entity and should be treated as such.

For the sake of clarity hr will be translated by "(royal) tomb" throughout this book, whereas p3 hr, when used as a name, will not be translated. The very existence of the absolute term p3 hr hardly needs to be proved; This much is implied by all those who have dealt with the problem; whether they interpret it as the name of the king's tomb, the Valley of the Kings or the entire Theban Necropolis, it has been invariably treated as a toponym.

⁵⁸ For examples see n.9, above.

In view of the real possibility that the common noun hr may be present in our documents in its defined form p3 hr, and confuse the issues, Černý's proposition to consider all cases in which p3 hr is followed by a "qualifying genitival expression" denoting the owner, as a group apart (cf. our group c), should be strictly followed⁵⁹.

Equally suspect are cases in which the "qualifying genitival expression" is actually omitted but nevertheless implied. In such examples, p3 of p3 hr is anaphoric rather than simply defining and refers back to a fuller identification of the hr through mention of its owner, to be sought earlier in the text. In fact, once the ownership has been established in one way or another (mostly by means of the typical formula "p3 hr n NN"), additional mentions of that same tomb, in an unambiguous context, need not include the cumbersome genitival qualifier, there being no danger of confusion⁶⁰.

Examples of p3 hr that can be categorized as belonging to one of these two groups ought to be discarded from the repertoire of secure occurrences of the absolute term p3 hr as a matter of precaution and methodological procedure. Yet, both Černý⁶¹ and Peet⁶² have utilized examples of this sort, and particularly the combination p3 hr n Pr-C₃, as cornerstones in the establishment of their respective theories.

A related drawback in Černý's theory is that, having characterized as a group apart the examples in which the owner of the royal tomb is expressed, and having isolated in that manner the remaining examples which genuinely contain the absolute term "p3 hr", he proceeded to investigate the latter group in order to determine an identity for the "unexpressed owner" (and he found it in the person of the reigning king) as if the existence of such an owner were axiomatic⁶³; in other words, Černý did not allow for the

59 Černý did not propose it in so many words; the distinction is however implied in his differentiation between cases in which "the word hr was either undefined...or given an indefinite article" or, when defined, "a qualifying genitival expression followed to indicate the owner" on the one hand (Community, 12), and other cases in which hr is "always preceded by the definite article....and usually without any further qualification" (ibid., 15) on the other. However, Černý did not realize the full importance of this fundamental subdivision and did not sustain this trend of thought during his subsequent arguments.

60 For an example see p.30, below.

61 See above, p.4, A,4-6.

62 See above, p.6, C,1-2.

63 See above, p.1, A,5.

possibility that the absolute "p3 hr" might have come to denote an entity which was not a royal tomb at all and therefore need not have an owner. Instead of asking the question: "What is it that the workmen named p3 hr?" Černý asked: "Whose hr would the workmen designate as p3 hr without specification of the owner's identity?" He admittedly considered the possibility that p3 hr might mean "the Theban Necropolis" and rejected it⁶⁴. This, however, he did, not as an essential step in the development of his theory, but in order to comment upon an already existing rival theory. Consequently he did not examine other possibilities. Fortunately, even after all questionable examples are deferred for later consideration, there still remain sufficiently numerous examples of secure cases⁶⁵ to enable a positive identification of the absolute p3 hr.

The following data, drawn on the basis of those examples, are quite suggestive of the solution we have in mind.

1. P3 hr was intimately connected with the community of workmen of the Theban Royal Necropolis of the Ramesside Period. This can be deduced from the fact that the term can be found only in documents pertaining to that community⁶⁶.
2. P3 hr was the most important entity in that community since almost every known element which can be associated with the community of the workmen is frequently mentioned as pertaining to p3 hr. Particularly, all the personnel which was involved in the royal tomb-building process belonged to p3 hr, as can be gathered by consulting individual titles and terms for groups of people⁶⁷.

64 See above, pp.4-5, B,1-6 and n.22.

65 These should be sought among our groups a and b (see above, p.1.)

66 This is practically the case since Černý could mention only three instances of a different origin (Černý, Community, 22 nn.1-3) out of some seven hundred attestations of the word hr (ibid., 7).

67 See particularly the list of titles in Černý, Community, 16-17. The association of these titles containing p3 hr with the workmen of the Theban Royal Necropolis is apparent from the contexts in which the titles occur. Their association with the valleys of the royal tombs and with the village of Deir el-Medina is made obvious by the circumstances of their discovery and by the identity of the names mentioned in the "p3 hr documents" with those figuring in the private tombs at Deir el-Medina (cf. Černý, Community, 42 and n.4).

3. P3 hr was not a mere designation of a specific geographical feature or area in the Theban Necropolis such as a valley, a peak, etc., in view of combinations of the type: sšw iśy n p3 hr⁶⁸ "old writings of p3 hr"; n3 hnr n p3 hr⁶⁹ "the tools of p3 hr"; sš kdw n p3 hr⁷⁰ "draughtsman of p3 hr" etc. It must have had some connection with a definite area however, if one is to interpret sdr m p3 hr⁷¹ "spending the night in p3 hr"; iw.f hr iī r p3 hr⁷² "he came to p3 hr", at face value.
4. The territory of p3 hr must have included at least one royal necropolis, the Valley of the Kings, in view of the quotation: īr nswt nb hnc n3y.w hmw-t-nswt, mwwt-nswt, mswt-nswt nty htp m p3 hr c3 špsy....st wd3 etc.⁷³ "As for every king as well as their royal wives, royal mothers and royal children who are buried in the great and august p3 hr... they are safe, etc." It also included the village of Deir el-Medina judging by the accusation against the foreman P3-nb: //// wC3 iś(t) hr imntt p3 hr iw wn wd r iwd.s; iw.f hr h3y r t3 (m)chct n rmt-īst Nht-Mnw....⁷⁴ "He desecrated a mortuary monument in the necropolis (lit. "west") of p3 hr there being a stela against it; he descended into the tomb of the workman Nht-Mnw..."⁷⁵. Both sentences in this passage belong to the same incident since each new item of accusation in Pap.Salt 124, the document containing the present passage, is preceded by the word "accusation"⁷⁶. The combination "imntt p3 hr" is of special interest; imntt W3st or imntt Nīwt "Western Thebes" was a synonym for the Theban Necropolis⁷⁷;

68 Pap.Turin Cat.1978/208 rto.3. Allam,HOUP Plates,pl.97.

69 Černý,Community,18; The source of this term is not provided. See however Zettel No.192 for hnr (Wb.III,298.6) in Wb.Belegstellen III,91. From there as well as from Černý,op.cit.,238 n.8, we should conclude that the term occurs in the unpublished continuation of Pleyte/Rossi, Papyrus de Turin,pl.33. Cf.Černý,JEA 15,1929,250 n.43.

70 Theban graffito 1806,5-6. Černý/Sadek,Graffiti,17.

71 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,5. Gardiner,RAD,53.3.

72 Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 rto.col.II,8. Černý,Ostraca CGC,2*.

73 Pap.Abbott,6,5-6. Peet,GTR,pl.3. This passage has been discussed by Černý (Community,20) and others. It will be presently dealt with in detail.

74 Pap.Salt 124 rto.2,22 - vso.1,2. Černý,JEA 15,1929,pl.45.

75 This passage has been discussed by Baer (Orientalia 34,1965,428ff.). Even though Baer has interpreted the passage differently, its basic meaning, which is what matters for our point, is quite clear. P3-nb is accused of unlawful, forceful, sacrilegious entrance into the mortuary complex of a fellow workman, and of theft therefrom.

76 For an additional consideration leading to the same conclusion see Baer, op.cit.,432.

77 Cf.Černý,Community,87 with n.2.

if p3 hr were "the king's tomb", "at the West of the king's tomb" would hardly be the site of Nht-Mnw's burial; moreover, if p3 hr were "the Theban Necropolis", the West of Thebes, what would the meaning of "at the West of the Necropolis" be? Since we know that the majority of the workmen's tombs were situated at the west of their village at Deir el-Medina, we should conclude that p3 hr could be used for Deir el-Medina and imntt p3 hr for its necropolis.

5. P3 hr could not designate the king's tomb or any other specific royal tomb, not even the generic term for "royal tomb". This statement which is in total variance with Černý's view⁷⁸, relies upon the evidence of numerous examples which, like the last-mentioned one, cannot be reconciled with Černý's definition. It should be reminded here that we are dealing only with the secure attestations of the absolute, bare p3 hr⁷⁹. The crew of workmen would never sleep in the royal tomb, and yet a text which describes certain activities of these workmen states: sdr m p3 hr⁸⁰ "spending the night in p3 hr"; the royal tomb can hardly be an appropriate place for holding a session of the knbt, but nevertheless we find: imy iri.tw t3 knbt m p3 hr m-s3 hpw n m3^Ct⁸¹ "let the tribunal be held in p3 hr according to the regulations of m3^Ct." Combinations of the type: smw n p3 hr⁸² "vegetables of p3 hr" or Cnh nw nwt n p3 hr⁸³ "citizenship of p3 hr" and many others are even more illustrative of this point.
6. P3 hr was well organized. It possessed personnel n3 rmtw p3 hr⁸⁴ "the people of p3 hr" which included women as we have just shown; there was a crew of workmen t3 ist p3 hr⁸⁵ "the crew (of) p3 hr" and of auxiliary manpower smdt n p3 hr⁸⁶ "conscript labor of p3 hr"; there was a hierarchy of title-bearers hwtyw n p3 hr⁸⁷ "captains of p3 hr," C3 n ist n p3 hr⁸⁸ "foreman (lit. "great one of the crew") of p3 hr," sš n p3 hr⁸⁹

78 See p.4, above (A,5).

79 See above, p.12.

80 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,5. Gardiner, RAD, 53.3.

81 Ostr. Michaelides 47 rto.3. Goedicke/Wente, Ostraka Michaelides, pl.50.

82 Turin Strike Papyrus vso.4,12. Gardiner, RAD, 50.14.

83 Černý, Community, 18.

84 Ibid., 103 n.7.

85 Cf. Pap. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960 rto.13. Allam, HOU P. plates, pl.123.

86 Turin Strike Papyrus vso.3,2. Gardiner, RAD, 46.7. Cf. Černý, Community, 183ff.

87 Ibid., 231ff.

88 Ibid., 121ff.

89 Ibid., 191ff. We shall be dealing with the scribes of p3 hr separately; see pp. 64-80.

"scribe of p3 hr" etc., as well as simple workmen rmt-ṯst(n) p3 hr⁹⁰ "crew-member of p3 hr". It possessed a settlement, t3 whyt (n) p3 hr⁹¹, a granary, t3 šnwt p3 hr⁹², a complex of five guardhouses, t3 5 ṯnbt n p3 hr⁹³, and a necropolis, ṯmntt p3 hr⁹⁴. Moreover, its inhabitants used to receive n3 htrṯw n p3 hr⁹⁵ "the dues of p3 hr" and the workmen utilized n3 hnr n p3 hr⁹⁶ "the tools of p3 hr". There even existed "old writings of p3 hr" sšw ṯsy n p3 hr⁹⁷.

Based upon this information and these considerations and upon the evidence of numerous examples which were put together and discussed by Černý and others⁹⁸, the following interpretation is suggested.

p3 hr was the name of an administrative unit which was active within the general framework of the Egyptian administration during the Ramesside Period⁹⁹. It had been founded for the purpose of preparing and taking care

90 Ibid., 99 n.7.

91 Černý, Community, 92. See also below, p. 184.

92 Ostr. DM 276, 4. Černý, Ostraca DM IV, pl. 10.

93 Turin Strike Papyrus vso. 3, l. Gardiner, RAD, 49.15. This term will be discussed separately below, p. 120 ff.

94 See above, p. 14 and n. 74.

95 Ostr. BM 50722 + Ostr. Cairo CG 25726 line 10. Černý/Gardiner, H0, pl. 68, l.

96 See above, n. 69.

97 See above, n. 68.

98 See above, n. 16.

99 The origins of the community of workmen of the Theban Royal Necropolis can be easily traced back to the reign of Tuthmosis I if not to that of Amenophis I (see lately, Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 431-32); However, the vast majority of the documents concerning that community are of Ramesside date as is the term p3 hr itself. There exists, moreover, both archaeological and documentary evidence indicating a thorough reorganization which must have taken place after the Amarna Period during the reign of Horemheb (ibid., 433-34). Under these circumstances it would be misleading to extrapolate our understanding of the functions of the community of workmen to the early stage of its existence. On the other extreme, though the term p3 hr did not disappear altogether from the documents of Dynasty XXI, it becomes apparent from the contents of those late documents that, after an active duration of more than two centuries, the administrative functions of that unit were not the same any more. The activities of p3 hr had changed to such an extent, following the drastic changes in the living conditions in Western Thebes on the one hand, and the changed needs of the central administration on the other, that it would be unwise to consider the few late attestations of p3 hr on the same footing as those from the Ramesside Period. p3 hr of Dynasty XXI should be regarded as an ancient frame into which modern contents were fitted to serve the needs of a changed situation.

of the royal tombs of that period¹⁰⁰. In order to achieve this goal p3 hr had been allotted territory, personnel and installations according to its needs. It had been also accorded services from external sources¹⁰¹ to take care of needs that could not be satisfied by its own resources.

Its most important particularity was the isolation that was imposed on that administration because of the nature of its duties. This situation generated the necessity for a precise delineation of its territory on the one hand, and for a special, imposed, attachment of its personnel to that territory, on the other. In order to make this possible, permanent living quarters for the personnel were constructed and that settlement became incorporated in the territory of p3 hr which was declared "of forbidden access" p3 hr hn?¹⁰².

P3 hr could therefore be used as a name for both the administration which employed the workmen of the royal necropolis, and the territory it occupied. On rare occasions p3 hr could serve for the designation of a particular portion of that territory such as the Valley of the Kings or Deir el-Medina¹⁰³, such use was however dependent upon the nature of the document and its context, and upon the identity of the user and of the people for whose benefit it was used¹⁰⁴. Normally, each territorial component of

¹⁰⁰ Peet must have been thinking in similar terms when he remarked: "At exactly what date the Necropolis was established as a state organization we do not know." (Peet, GTR, 11). Combining this remark with the view that p3 hr was equivalent to the great Theban Necropolis, expressed two pages back in that same publication (see also p.4 C,2 above) we conclude that the suggestion we are proposing here was actually formulated by Peet. It is unfortunate that Peet himself did not stress this point and did not carry it further.

¹⁰¹ Such as smdt n bnr, rwdw n bnr, knbt bnr, 3tw, md3yw, iryw-c3, htrw n p3 hr etc. Most of these terms will be discussed in Chapter III while dealing with the terms hnw and bnr. For the 3tw officers see below, p.183; the md3yw of the Theban Necropolis have been investigated by Černý (Community, 261-284), see however below, p.174 & n.11; a separate chapter will be devoted to the study of the iryw-c3 (Chapter V); for the htrw n p3 hr see Janssen, CPRP, 455ff.

¹⁰² Thomas, JEA, 49, 1963, 62; idem, RNT, 50 and 66 n.13.

¹⁰³ See p.10, above.

¹⁰⁴ Those who were not directly involved with the intricacies of the administration of p3 hr were obviously unacquainted with its intimate toponymy. One should therefore assume that these people would refer to the whole or any part thereof by the single term p3 hr. By the same token, inmates of p3 hr would refrain from utilizing terms other than the universally accepted p3 hr in documents addressed to uninvolved outsiders.

p3 hr had its individual name, at least in the colloquial of the local inhabitants.

When one sets about to ascertain the limits of the territory of p3 hr, one realizes that they are nowhere stated explicitly and that there does not exist an acknowledged criterion for determining them. In view of the special nature of p3 hr it would seem reasonable to assume that its territory should extend as far as the realm of its inhabitants extended.

"Realm" is understood here as the combined regions in which all normal activities of these people and of the equally isolated members of their families took place. We may further assume that the guiding principle was to keep the area of p3 hr as restricted as possible for, the larger the region became, the harder would have been the task of keeping an eye on its population and of guarding it against intrusions.

If this hypothesis is correct, we find a handy criterion for determining the abovementioned realm by using the evidence of the rock graffiti left in large quantities by the workmen and their superiors wherever suitable rock was at hand. Fortunately, these graffiti have been the subject of intensive scholarly activity; thousands of graffiti from that region have been located, recorded and pinpointed on detailed maps¹⁰⁵. Leaving aside a few sites which, by the number and contents of their graffiti, seem to have been visited only on exceptional occasions, the distribution of the bulk of these documents implies that the Valley of the Queens and its general region, the territory around the sanctuary of Ptah on the way leading to the Valley of the Queens, the region around Deir el-Medina, the path over the cliffs used by the workmen on their way from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, the station "of the col", the descent towards the Valley of the Kings, the path leading from the col to the "Western Valley" and the Royal Valleys themselves including a few lateral wadis in that region were all contained in the realm of the workmen¹⁰⁶. The region

¹⁰⁵ CDEAE, Graffiti 5 Vols.

¹⁰⁶ A similar definition is given by Davies as follows: "This community was not confined to the acre or so occupied by their cramped quarters in the village of Deir el-Medineh. The realm to which they had established a claim by their activities was.....a part of the necropolis of Thebes, limited perhaps to Deir el-Medineh and the Tombs of the Kings and Queens; that section of it, in short, which might be considered as lying behind or within the face of the western hills." Davies, Mel. Maspero I, 241.

around the cache of the royal mummies at Deir el-Bahari bears graffiti which are datable to the later part of Dynasty XX and to Dynasty XXI. That region was therefore annexed to p3 hr quite late in the history of the community. Significantly, Wadiyen seems to be free from graffiti over most of its length while the ones that were discovered on the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari are either datable to much earlier periods or do not belong to members of the community of workmen¹⁰⁷.

That the Valley of the Kings with its surroundings should be part of p3 hr is self-evident and could be expected even without the testimony of the graffiti; we have already presented one case which shows that Deir el-Medina and its surroundings was included; this conclusion can be backed by additional examples¹⁰⁸. It is only reasonable to assume that the area lying in between these two centers should be part of p3 hr as well, and the graffiti prove this assumption true¹⁰⁹. The two really problematic directions are the south, i.e. the region of the Valley of the Queens, and the east.

The difficulty with the Valley of the Queens is that even though we have uncontested proof that the workmen were active in that region¹¹⁰ and that they felt responsible for the safety of the tombs situated there¹¹¹, we have no clearcut evidence that the said region was indeed part of p3 hr, while a passage in Pap.Abbott tends to demonstrate that it was not.

Ir nswt nb hn^c n3y.w hmw-t-nswt.....nty htp m p3 hr C3 špsy, hn^c n3 nty htp m t3y st-nfrw, st wd3 etc¹¹². "As for every king, as well as their royal wives....who are buried in the Great and August p3 hr, as well as the ones who are buried in this Valley of the Queens, they are safe etc". By juxtaposing p3 hr with the Valley of the Queens the official who pronounced the remark we have just quoted virtually excluded the Valley of the Queens from p3 hr. However, before we allow this example to influence our decision

107 Cf. for instance, Černý, Graffiti, 20 (Nos. 1310-1320).

108 Ostr. BM 5624 vso. 1-3 (Blackman, JEA 12, 1926, pls. 34-35); Ostr. Cairo CG 25504 rto. col. II, 7-8 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 2*).

109 Cf. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 76 and Nos. 920-987 in pp. 77-82.

110 This is made obvious by the numerous ostraca which were found there, mainly by Schiaparelli (Relazione I). Some of these ostraca were published lately in Lopez, Ostraca Ieratici. In addition, a significant number of graffiti has been recorded in the vicinity of the tombs of the Valley of the Queens (see n. 105, sector "B", particularly Vol. I, pp. 32ff.).

111 Pap. Abbott 6, 6-8. Peet, GTR, pl. 3.

112 Pap. Abbott 6, 5-6. Ibid.

regarding the Valley of the Queens, we should try to visualise the circumstances that brought about the abovementioned declaration; The mayor of Eastern Thebes had become involved in a matter that normally should not be under his jurisdiction, namely, tomb-robberies in Western Thebes. Even though he had never been in the Royal Valleys in person ¹¹³, information had reached him from trustworthy sources that tombs had been violated in several sites, and particularly tombs in the Valley of the Queens ¹¹⁴. The mayor had threatened to inform Pharaoh (Ramesses IX) and thus an investigation was held by the king's representatives on the spot, the Vizier and two royal butlers. The investigation showed, among other things, that though a royal pyramid-tomb of Dynasty XVII had been completely robbed, the tombs in the Valley of the Queens were intact. Reacting against the apparent relief with which the results of the investigation had been welcomed by the workmen of the Necropolis, the Mayor of Thebes pointed out that it was still a fact that the pyramid-tomb had been robbed which was in itself a serious crime ¹¹⁵. At this stage came the response we are interested in. It was pronounced by the assistant foreman of the right side of the crew of workmen, Wsr-ḥpš ¹¹⁶. All Wsr-ḥpš wished to say is that he and his fellow-

113 This detail is never actually mentioned; however, Pap.Abbott makes it only too apparent that the Mayor of Eastern Thebes was not allowed to visit personally the "Royal Valleys", neither could he send representatives from his office to do so. The documents have preserved information about several instances of contact between the Mayor of Eastern Thebes and the workmen of the Necropolis; in no instance, however, are we led to believe that the Mayor came up to the village of Deir el-Medina or to the Royal Valleys. At times he was approached on matters of supplying provisions when other sources seem to have failed doing so on schedule; At other times, he would become involved as a member of the body of high officials, possibly the members of the Great Knbt of Thebes, on special occasions. For such activities, other than during the tomb-robberies investigations, see: Ostr.Cairo CG 25580,2 (Černý, Ostraca CGC.51*); Ostr.DM 44 rto.21 (Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl.31); Ostr. DM 148 rto.14 (Černý, Ostraca DM II, pl.10); Pap.DM 24,4 (Allam, Houp Plates, pl.87); Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,9: 3,15; yso.7,5 (Gardiner, RAD, 53,9; 57,3; 52,1); Theban Graffito 1860a,3-4 (Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 21); possibly Ostr.Nicholson Museum R.97 rto.1-2 (Eyre, Glimpses, 82(h)).

114 Pap.Abbott 7,10. Peet, GTR, pl.4.

115 Pap.Abbott 6,2-3. Ibid., pl.3.

116 Pap.Abbott 6,5 (Ibid.). For Wsr-ḥpš see Černý, Community, 309. He was not a Police Chief as stated by Thomas (JEA 49, 1963, 62 n.5). Černý's suggestion that Wsr-ḥpš was too excited to speak correctly (Community, 20) is rather questionable inasmuch as our document is not taken from the proceedings of an investigation, but is rather a report which was composed and phrased by P3-wr-C3, the Mayor of Western Thebes.

workmen did not feel responsible for what had happened to the pyramid-tomb since their responsibility was limited to the royal tombs which were situated in p3 hr, whereas the tomb that had been robbed lay beyond the limits of p3 hr; he also wished to emphasize that that part of the mayor's accusation which might have affected the workmen, namely the robberies in the Valley of the Queens (which was seemingly included in the area they were supposed to guard) had been proved false. What is more, Wsr-hpš knew that, being totally uninvolved in the routine of the Theban Necropolis, the mayor was not acquainted with the local toponyms of the various royal cemeteries there. Like all outsiders the mayor was supposed to associate the entire region that had been allotted to the community of workmen with the single term p3 hr. Therefore, Wsr-hpš said: "As for every king, as well as their royal wives... who are buried in p3 hr (referring to the Valley of the Kings), as well as those who are buried in this st-nfrw (using the demonstrative in order to refer to the specific accusation by the mayor, and the name of that necropolis because it had been mentioned by the mayor in his accusation)¹¹⁷ they are safe...".

We may therefore conclude that the passage from Pap.Abbott does not necessarily place the Valley of the Queens outside the limits of p3 hr. If our interpretation is accepted, t3 st-nfrw must be understood as having belonged to p3 hr for, otherwise, Wsr-hpš would not have cared about the fate of tombs there, just as he did not care about the fate of the pyramid-tomb.

The second problem has to do with the delineation of the eastern border of p3 hr. We shall have several occasions to deal with it from different points of view, in subsequent chapters. For the time being, the evidence of the graffiti will be followed wherever the terrain allows us to expect them and we shall consequently declare Wadiyen and Deir el-Bahari as being extraneous to p3 hr¹¹⁸. Other documents inform us that one path leading to p3 hr via Deir el-Bahari was apparently in use by the workmen, but only on rare occasions¹¹⁹.

117 See n.114.

118 See p.13. Cf. also p.170.

119 See Ostr.Turin N.57006 rto.2 (Lopez,Ostraca Ieratici I,pl.7a); Ostr. Cairo CG 25278,3 (Daressy,Ostraca CGC,71); Ostr.Cairo CG 25291,5 (ibid. pl.57); Ostr.Cairo CG 25518 rto.4,6,8 (Černý,Ostraca CGC,18*); Ostr. Cairo CG 25746 rto.1 (ibid.,90*); Ostr.IFAO 1357 vso.3 (Allam,HOUP Plates,pl.58); Ostr.Petrie 73,3 (Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.66,3); Ostr.Gardiner 11 vso.5 (ibid.,pl.25,2).

Special care is needed for the determination of the limits in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina where the settlement of the workmen was situated. From the use of the terms hnw and bnr by its inhabitants we may conclude that they were well aware of the existence of such a boundary nearby. These terms, as well as designations of specific border installations in the vicinity of the village, will be discussed in subsequent chapters¹²⁰. There it will be shown that p3 hr did not extend as far as the plain of the Royal Mortuary Temples but stopped short in the close vicinity of Deir el-Medina.

The inclusion of the royal necropolis of Dynasty XVII at Dra^C Abu n-Naga has been suggested¹²¹ in view of the declaration made by Wsr-hpš shortly after the inspection of royal tombs in that necropolis as mentioned in Papyrus Abbott¹²². Would however Wsr-hpš have pronounced his pompous declaration immediately following the discovery that the tomb of Sbk-m-s3.f had been totally robbed, if that tomb had been part of the "protected" region? I believe that Wsr-hpš was anxious to impress upon his audience that the scandalous situation at Dra^C Abu n-Naga was not characteristic of the state of affairs prevailing in the region over which he was personally responsible.

The north-western and western borders were less important since they led onto the wilderness of the vast western desert. That region could not harbor any surprises for the guardians of p3 hr nor could it attract any unnecessary wanderings on the part of its inhabitants. Fixed limits may have never been introduced for those directions, though mention is made in one papyrus of "the northern fortified wall"¹²³.

This completes the general definition of the term p3 hr. Normally it should be followed by a series of detailed descriptions of the various elements of which p3 hr was composed, their functions, the co-ordination between them, the organization of the personnel and so forth. However, considering the generality of this term's nature, to do that would be tantamount to undertaking a detailed investigation of the community of

¹²⁰ For the terms hnw and bnr see pp.64-81; for additional border installations cf. r n t3 int, "the entrance of the Valley" pp.160-161; t3 5 inbt, "the (series) of five guardposts", pp.119ff.

¹²¹ Peet-see above, p.6, C,3; Wente-see above, n.43.

¹²² See above, n.112.

¹²³ Pap.Turin 2083/178 rto.I,3. Botti/Peet,Giornale,pl.14.

workmen in all its aspects, a task for which the foundations have not been properly laid as yet. In the following chapters the definitions of the most controversial among the terms related to p3 hr will be undertaken in order to pave part of the way towards such a serious undertaking.

While the definition of p3 hr was still being argued, examples from groups a and b¹²⁴ were the only ones that were judged secure enough to be used as evidence for the argumentation. Those pertaining to Group c, i.e. containing the combination "p3 hr n + noun", were intentionally put aside for later consideration. In view of the probability that at least part of those examples may not be carrying the term we are interested in, but rather the defined form of the word hr "(royal) tomb", these examples will be now treated as follows. Instead of trying to manipulate the definition of p3 hr to make it fit the evidence of all examples in Group c (as did Peet, Černý and Thomas), the examples themselves will be tested according to the criterion set by the definition. Whenever "p3 hr n + noun" will be shown by its context to be incompatible with our definition of p3 hr, that specific example will not be retained. All acceptable examples will be naturally included among the pertinent cases, and some thought will then be given to the significance of the addition of the genitival to the term p3 hr. The process is not complicated inasmuch as the choice of the potentially acceptable cases can be narrowed down to those instances for which the noun is "Pr-C3". In other words, examples containing the combination p3 hr n Pr-C3 should be retained for further checking whereas all the others, for which the noun is a royal name or that of a member of the royal family etc., can be easily eliminated from consideration.

Since p3 hr was, by definition, the administrative department entrusted with the construction and safeguard of the royal tombs, its name could hardly become associated with the person of any one, specific king, with the possible exception of the reigning Pharaoh at the time of inscription—a possibility which will be presently examined—, or that of Amenophis I¹²⁵. Consequently, during any given reign, "p3 hr + n + name of a deceased king" or "p3 hr + n + name of a member of the royal family other than the king" cannot be accepted as a designation of the said administration as defined.

¹²⁴ See above, p.1.

¹²⁵ In view of the special status of Amenophis I among the workmen of the Theban Necropolis (discussed lately in Schmitz, Amenophis I).

Examples of this nature should be therefore rejected a priori¹²⁶.

There remains the case of "p3 hr n + name of the reigning king". Surprisingly, I was able to find only one example pertaining to this category, Pap. Chester Beatty III, vso.4,¹²⁷

Sš K̄n-hr-hpš.f n p3 hr ^C3 n B3-n-R^C-mry-ꜥImn, s3 R^C Mr-n-Pth-ḥtp-hr-m3^Ct
"Scribe of the Great p3 hr of B3-n-R^C-mry-ꜥImn, Son of Re Mr-n-Pth-ḥtp-hr-m3^Ct (King Merneptah), K̄n-hr-hpš.f".

Since K̄n-hr-hpš.f was indeed scribe of p3 hr under Merneptah¹²⁸, and the passage is taken from the draft of a letter written by that scribe to the Vizier P3-nḥsy, equally known to have been active during that same reign¹²⁹, there should be little doubt that Merneptah was the king at the time the letter was composed and that consequently, this example is indeed one of "p3 hr n + name of the reigning king".

In an earlier letter addressed to the Vizier H^Cy¹³⁰ that same scribe's title is a simple sš n p3 hr. Having suggested¹³¹ that the latter formula is typical (both in form and meaning) of our proposed interpretation of p3 hr as the necropolis administration of the workmen, we should now conclude that the same holds true for the hapax of Chester Beatty III vso.4,¹ as well. In other words, if there is any room for generalization from a single example, we should concede that the addition of a genitival containing the name of the reigning king to the term p3 hr in an "official" document of the Necropolis is optional, and should be interpreted as a merely "decorative", non-restricting elaboration of the absolute term p3 hr¹³².

¹²⁶ This conclusion is convincingly upheld by the actual examples. Whenever an example of this category occurs in a context that permits a clear determination of the term's meaning, it always turns out to refer to the actual tomb of the deceased king or to that of a member of the royal family, and nowhere can it be taken to designate the administration of the royal necropolis. For actual examples see Černý, Community, 8 nn. 3, 5, 6; 9 nn. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9.

¹²⁷ Gardiner, HPBM III.

¹²⁸ On this scribe see Černý, Community, 329ff.

¹²⁹ Helck, Verwaltung, 325, 458(33i).

¹³⁰ Ostr. Cairo CG 25832 rto. 1-2 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 120*). It should be datable around the fifth decade of Ramesses' II reign.

¹³¹ For "Substantive + n p3 hr" where the substantive stands for a title, see above, p. 1(b).

¹³² The same holds true for the additional epithet ^C3 "great", with the nuance of "august" (see p. 186, below), which is also part of K̄n-hr-hpš.f's title in our example.

It will be presently shown that the case is quite different with non-official, administrative or other documents utilizing the colloquial.

The uniqueness of the use of Pharaoh's name in the elaborate official formula of p3 hr¹³³ may be due to the fact that this is one of the earliest attestations of p3 hr in the context of a title, and that consequently the "official" terminology was still in its formative stage. It seems to have crystalized later on into the similar and yet different form p3 hr (^{C3} špsy n hhw m rnpwt) n Pr-^{C3} C.w.s. (hr imntt W3st). The latter form, sometimes abbreviated into p3 hr n Pr-^{C3}, is, as already stated, the only combination of p3 hr with a genitival, from among the examples in our Group c¹³⁴, that deserves a cautious consideration before its meaning is determined, inasmuch as it occurs frequently enough, in both "official" and "non-official" documents¹³⁵.

Černý has maintained that since Pr-^{C3} does not occur as a designation of a dead king, all cases of p3 hr... n Pr-^{C3} should perforce be related to the living king, in the sense of "the royal tomb in course of construction"¹³⁶. This, however, does not seem to be always the case.

Since, as we have seen, p3 hr ^{C3}....n Mr-n-Pth could be taken to refer to the Necropolis administration (rather than to Merneptah's tomb) in an official letter, it would be odd indeed if, in documents of a similar type, the less specific formula p3 hr n Pr-^{C3} could carry as specific a meaning as Černý has suggested. A detailed survey of as many examples of p3 hr n Pr-^{C3} as I could find has borne this theory out convincingly. The results obtained are as follows:

133 From Černý's quotation of Ostr.DM 45,17 (Community, 8 n.2), one may get the erroneous impression that the formula *p3 hr n Wsr-m3^Ct-R^C-stp-n-²Imn figures in that ostrakon; had that been so, we would have had an additional example of the construction "p3 hr n + name of the reigning king"; However, the correct reading is: tsi r sht //// r qm gm sp 2 st sdt hr n Wsr-m3^Ct-R^C-stp-n-²Imn... (Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl. 34), to be translated: "Ascending to sht //// in order to seek a site for digging a tomb for Wsr-m3^Ct-R^C-stp-n-²Imn (Ramesses IV)."

134 See above, p.1.

135 This differentiation will prove to be of special significance for our discussion; for specific examples see below.

136 See above, pp.3-4 A, 3-4.

Whenever p3 hr n Pr-^C3 occurs in documents which avoid colloquial language (official reports, pompous headings, official or semi-official letters etc) it is fully equivalent to the bare p3 hr and should be translated by "the Royal (Pharaonic) administration of the Necropolis" or, according to our convention, "p3 hr of Pharaoh"¹³⁷.

Whenever it occurs in documents utilizing the colloquial, it should be understood in terms of Černý's suggestion and translated by "the tomb of Pharaoh" meaning "the Royal Tomb in course of construction". Naturally, this latter category should not be included among the cases containing the absolute term p3 hr, but should rather be explained out as a group of specific occurrences of the common noun hr, the identity of which is provided by the added genitival.

The following examples will serve to illustrate these conclusions:

Ex.1. Ostr. Cairo CG 25764 vso. 3-4¹³⁸.

Sš hsb mmnt n n3 hrpw H3rw Kš nty htri r p3 hr ^C3 špsy n hhw m rnpwt n Pr-^C3 hr imtt W3st. "Scribe of reckoning of cattle of the cattle-taxes of Syria and Kush which are (presented as) dues to the Great and Noble p3 hr of Millions of Years of Pharaoh on the West of Thebes"¹³⁹.

This passage is taken from an offering dedicace on behalf of a certain K3-nht one of whose titles is described by means of the elaborate formula just quoted. It is written in "beautiful hieratic"¹⁴⁰ and is unquestionably the type of document that does not tolerate colloquialisms¹⁴¹. Speaking of the dues of p3 hr Černý himself admits that "'the taxes of the Tomb' must be the taxes which the people engaged in working on 'the Tomb' and not 'the Tomb' itself received"¹⁴². If Černý's expression "the people engaged in working on 'the Tomb'" is slightly changed into "the administrative department responsible for the construction of the royal tomb", it becomes apparent that what was taken by Černý to be an exception, is, in fact, one of

¹³⁷ It can be thus regarded as a later or more acceptable version than the ephemeral "p3 hr n + name of the reigning king".

¹³⁸ Černý, Ostraca CGC, 94*.

¹³⁹ Daressy's old translation and commentary of the verso (Daressy, ASAE 22, 1922, 75-6) has been partly rectified by Helck (Materialien, 479) who, however, neglects to quote the ostrakon by its catalog number or its publication in Černý's volume of the Catalogue Général.

¹⁴⁰ Daressy, op.cit., 75.

¹⁴¹ Such is the rule for documents of a mortuary character in general, and the ostrakon belongs to that category.

¹⁴² Černý, Community, 18.

the characteristic cases of p3 hr n Pr-C3 in a non-colloquial context which is equivalent to the bare p3 hr as defined in this chapter¹⁴³.

Ex.2. Pap. Abbott 6,15-16¹⁴⁴.

Sdm.ỉ n3w mdwt ỉ-dd p3y h3ty-C n Niwt n n3w rmtw n p3 hr C3 špsy n hhw n rnpwt n Pr-C3 c.w.s. hr ỉmntt W3st "I heard the matters which this mayor of Thebes said to the men of the Great and Noble p3 hr of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, L.P.H., in Western Thebes".

The tomb-robberies papyri, of which Pap.Abbott is an example, are not consistent in their style and vocabulary because they are composed of items of variable nature. The passage we have quoted belongs to an official report that was composed by the mayor of Western Thebes, P3-wr-C3, and was addressed to the Vizier. As such, the text ought to be tolerably free from colloquialisms. N3 rmtw p3 hrn Pr-C3.... were, in fact, the members of the administration of p3 hr rather than "the people of the royal tomb in course of construction".

Ex.3. Ostr.IFAO 383,3¹⁴⁵.

Mh r sš p3 hr špsy n Pr-C3 "beginning to paint the noble tomb of Pharaoh".

This ostrakon probably contains part of the necropolis journal and should be classified among the unofficial documents of the community of workmen. P3 hr n Pr-C3 refers in this case to the royal tomb.

Ex.4. Pap.Turin 2071/224 + 1960 rto.II,9.11¹⁴⁶.

Hsbt 14 3bd 4 3ht sw 27. B3k m p3 hr n Pr-C3 c.w.s. "Regnal Year 14, fourth month of the First Season, day 27. Working in the tomb of Pharaoh L.P.H.".

Bn t3 ỉst p3 hr hr šm (r) b3k m p3 hr n Pr-C3 c.w.s. "The crew of p3 hr is not going to work in the tomb of Pharaoh L.P.H."¹⁴⁷.

The text from which these quotations were taken is part of the journal of the necropolis for year 14 of Ramesses IX¹⁴⁸, and seems to be the direct continuation of Ostr.BM 5672 + Ostr.Cairo CG 25649¹⁴⁹. The second entry of the present example contains both the terms p3 hr and p3 hr n Pr-C3

143 For a very similar example see Pap.Turin Cat.1903 vso. mentioned in Janssen,CPRP,456.

144 Peet,GTR,pl.III.

145 See Černý,Community,12 n.3.

146 Allam,HOUF Plates,pl.109; see also idem,HOUF,32.

147 Černý/Groll,LEG,340(Ex.929).

148 Allam,HOUF,329.

149 Published in Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.69,1.

demonstrating the difference between the two in the colloquial, and particularly the fact that the addition n Pr-^C3 was obligatory whenever the royal tomb itself was intended.

Ex.5. Pap. Turin Cat.1898 (Chabas-Lieblein) rto.IV,20-21¹⁵⁰.

3bd 3 Šmw, sw 7. Wd^C ĩnr ĩn t3 ĩst r dr.w m r n p3 hr n Pr-^C3 C.w.s.

"Third month of the Third Season, day 7. Stone removing by the whole crew at (from) the entrance of the tomb of Pharaoh L.P.H.".

This papyrus is commonly known as "the Journal of Year 3 (of Ramesses X)". Such documents, as we saw in exx.3-4, differentiate between p3 hr and p3 hr n Pr-^C3, the latter term serving to designate the royal tomb.

All in all, p3 hr n Pr-^C3 was only rarely utilized in everyday administrative documents of the Necropolis. This is probably due to the preponderance of another colloquial term denoting the royal tomb in course of construction, namely p3 b3k or p3 r-^C b3k¹⁵¹. Since however the last-mentioned terms are of a general character and could serve, in principle, to designate other commissions the crew might be engaged in as well, such as the construction of the tomb of another member of the royal family¹⁵², p3 hr n Pr-^C3 was used in such cases to avoid ambiguity¹⁵³.

Conversely, "official" documents, or rather, less casual ones, utilized p3 hr n Pr-^C3 as a synonym for p3 hr. Since the addition in those documents seems to be arbitrary and, at any rate, does not alter the basic meaning of the term, n Pr-^C3 can be understood as an epithet which can be occasionally accompanied by additional ones up to the longest version p3 hr ^C3 Špsy n ħhw m rnpwt n Pr-^C3 C.w.s. hr ĩmntt W3st. "Decorative" epithets were quite common in the ancient Egyptian "official" style so that we need not enquire into the reasons which brought about this specific situation neither should we attach any special importance to their nature¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁰ Botti/Peet, *Giornale*, p1.57.

¹⁵¹ For these terms see Černý, *Community*, 81-84.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 81 n.6.

¹⁵³ Cf. the term p3 r-^C b3kw n Pr-^C3 (*ibid.*, 81 and nn.7-8) which occurs in documents employing the colloquial, and was therefore synonymous to p3 hr n Pr-^C3.

¹⁵⁴ The information presented by Černý on these formulae (*Community*, 22-24) is most helpful, mainly because of the concentration of examples and their subdivision according to the variants of the formula. To use these examples profitably we should further subdivide them according to the nature of the documents involved into "official" and "unofficial", the former being by far more numerous than the latter.

The peculiarities of chance combined with additional factors, which ought to be studied separately, have resulted in a disproportionate accumulation of official documents from the necropolis area that are datable to the very end of Dynasty XX. Therefore, it is mainly during that period that the majority of examples of p3 hr n Pr-C3 (or the longer variations thereof) which fit our definition of p3 hr were composed.

Referring back to our initial grouping of the attestations of p3 hr¹⁵⁵, we may now conclude that the examples contained in groups a and b, as well as those among the examples of group c which contain the formula p3 hr n Pr-C3 (or any longer version thereof) in an "official" non-colloquial context, should be considered as acceptable examples of the term p3 hr.

In view of this result, any attempt to define p3 hr or justify its definition by applying the existing equivalence between p3 hr and p3 hr n Pr-C3 in the "non-colloquial" documents, upon examples taken from the routine administration of the Necropolis, where the terms are strictly differentiated, is bound to lead to a severe and unnecessary misunderstanding of the problem.

To conclude the chapter on p3 hr, specific cases will be examined, particularly such that were put forward as evidence to the effect that p3 hr should be interpreted differently than we have proposed. Among the examples which were quoted by Černý in support of his definition of p3 hr, there are four cases in which the translation "the King's tomb" seems to be unavoidable in view of the general context, and yet, the formula employed is a bare p3 hr¹⁵⁶. Since this state of affairs contradicts our results, each case will be examined separately.

In theory, the only way of explaining away such cases without having to alter our definition is by checking whether p3 hr, though not followed by a genitival qualifier, may still be regarded as a case of the defined common noun hr. This can only happen if a lacuna long enough to have contained a genitival qualifier mentioning the owner of the tomb follows the debated term, or if the owner in question is mentioned as such earlier in the text in a manner that would make any repetition superfluous.

155 P.1, above.

156 Černý, Community, 11 n.9; 12 nn.1,2,5.

An example of the latter sort can be found in Pap. Mayer B,10¹⁵⁷. The activities of a group of tomb-robbers are related by one member of the group, presumably at the time of his interrogation; among other things he says: ᵓIw.n wn p3 hr, ᵓIw.n Ck r.f, ᵓIw.n gm... "we opened the (royal) tomb, we entered it, we found....". p3 hr refers in this instance back to the initial mention of the tomb in question; in fact, two lines before the passage we have quoted, mention is made of the tomb of Ramesses VI as follows: p3 hr n nswt Nb-m3 Ct-R^C /// mry-ᵓImn C.w.s. p3 ntr C3 "the tomb of King Nb-m3^{Ct-R^C} - /// mry-ᵓImn L.P.H., the Great God (Ramesses VI)".

This occurrence of p3 hr is the only reference supplied by the Belegstellen as evidence for the meaning "Sargkammer"¹⁵⁸. It seems to me however, that since it undoubtedly refers back to the mention of Ramesses VI's tomb, this example cannot support the introduction of a new meaning for p3 hr. The rendering Sargkammer¹⁵⁹ should therefore be abandoned¹⁶⁰.

The examples produced by Černý are the following:

Ostr. Cairo CG 25565,4¹⁶¹

3bd 4 3ht sw 5 ᵓi ᵓn ᵓmy-r nᵓwt t3ty Nfr- ᵓ///// ᵓ r snt /// p3 hr
///// "Fourth month of the First Season, day 5, coming by the Vizier Nfr-
ᵓrnpᵓ to found the tomb of /////".

The obvious lacuna after p3 hr, with traces of writing in it¹⁶², dispences us from trying to explain this use of p3 hr.

Ostr. Gardiner 70 rto.3-4¹⁶³.

ᵓIw sš ᵓImn-ᵓtp mh r sš ᵓ//ᵓ p3 snny n p3 hr ///// "Scribe ᵓImn-ᵓtp set about to draw the plan of the tomb of /////".

Here again there is a lacuna following p3 hr. The royal tomb in course of

¹⁵⁷ Peet, Mayer Papyri.

¹⁵⁸ Wb.-Belegstellen III,68 (323.16). A second example quoted in *ibid.*, part 2,97 (Zettel 552) contains a misreading (cf. Botti/Peet, *Giornale*, pl.24 (VIII,6)) and refers to the tomb of a queen Isis in the Valley of the Queens.

¹⁵⁹ Wb.III,323.16.

¹⁶⁰ See also Černý, *Community*, 8 nn.3-4.

¹⁶¹ Černý, *Ostraca CGC*, 47*. Cf. *idem*, *Community*, 12 n.1.

¹⁶² Cf. *idem*, *Ostraca CGC Plates*, pl.32.

¹⁶³ Černý/Gardiner, *H0*, pl.48,1. Cf. Černý, *Community*, 12 n.2.

construction is mentioned several times in this document by its more popular designation p3 r-c b3k¹⁶⁴. If the lacuna following p3 hr did contain a genitival, "p3 hr (n NN)" may have been a different tomb. If it did not, p3 hr could refer back to p3 r-c b3k in a manner similar to the one we described above.

Ostr. Cairo CG 25247 vso.2-3¹⁶⁵. Černý translates this passage as follows: "Being busy with painting the thickness of the hr in its doorway"¹⁶⁶. A transliteration of the text has not been published while the photograph of the verso that was given by Daressy is very faint in its first lines. Daressy himself did not attempt a transliteration of that part. Helck has translated the verso but not its three first lines¹⁶⁷. Reconstructing the text by means of Černý's translation and the faint signs of the photograph, we tentatively obtain the following: Mh r sš t3 wmt n p3 hr m t3y.f h3yt. The word hr, which is the most important one for our purpose, cannot be deciphered from the photograph. If one assumes with Černý that the word was indeed hr, it may be understood as an abbreviation of p3 hr n Pr-c3 though, to be accepted as such, it should be somehow connected with p3 r-c b3k which is mentioned on the recto¹⁶⁸. In that case, t3 wmt n p3 hr would, in turn, be an abbreviation of t3 wmt n p3 hr n Pr-c3. Since neither combination is known to occur elsewhere¹⁶⁹, we are still left in the realm of speculation. If the word is not hr after all, the example becomes irrelevant to our purpose. Alternatively, for all we know, the hapax t3 wmt n p3 hr could have been an element that did not belong to the royal tomb proper, but to some other entity in the realm of the workmen (to the enclosure of the village, to one of the inbwt of p3 hr-for which cf. Chapter VII, below-, to the htm-Chapter IV-, etc.). In such a case, the combination would be perfectly admissible as an additional example of the use of p3 hr according to our definition. The unknowns being as many as they are, it would be useless to pursue the discussion any further.

164 Recto, lines 2,4.

165 Daressy, Ostraca, pl. 52, pp. 64-65

166 Černý, Community, 12 nn. 4-5. I would propose "beginning to paint the wmt" cf. lately, Amer, GM 49, 1981, 9 and n. 4.

167 Helck, Materialien, 994.

168 Recto 2; cf. Černý, Community, 82 n. 7.

169 Černý speaks of the "thickness of the portal" as a distinct element in a royal tomb (Černý, VK, 33) only on the basis of the present ambiguous passage (ibid., n. 5). See also, Spencer, Egyptian Temple, 186-90.

The last example in this series is of a slightly different character; Here there seems to be no question regarding the nature of the term p3 hr which is the bare absolute term we have defined, and not an abbreviation for "p3 hr n NN". The problem is rather with Černý's translation of the passage in which he insists that p3 hr is the king's tomb in course of construction.

Pap. Turin cat. 2002, rto.IV, 14-17¹⁷⁰.

ᵐIw wb3w nswt ᵐ////ᵐ-ᵐᵇw hr dīᵐ in.tw p3 4 hryw-msī ṣst ᵐnᵇ rmtw 2 ᵐw.sn
hr ᵐtr.w(?) r hry p3 st3 ᵐw sṣ ᵐImn-nᵐt hr ᵐ////ᵐ wn.w m p3 hr.

The passage presents serious difficulties, but even though a fully satisfactory translation is not in view at this stage, it can be nevertheless argued that Černý's rendering of the passage¹⁷¹ is not unassailable.

Černý has translated as follows: "the king's butler Amen-khew let the four chief stone-cutters of the alabaster together with two men be brought. They escorted (?) them down the sloping (passage) and the scribe Amennakhte shut them in the hr." Commenting upon the verb 'shut', Černý remarks¹⁷²: "The scribe made a strange slip here. The preserved determinatives point distinctly to the verb used being wn, 'to open', but surely the context requires ᵐtm 'to shut'; one does not 'open' anyone in a place, one 'shuts' him in it." Before one resorts to the conclusion that wn was mistakenly written for its antonym, an unprecedented and highly improbable occurrence, more plausible alternatives ought to be explored first.

While it is true that one does not 'open' anyone, it is equally true that at least one precedent of the verb wn having a person as its direct object does exist in a very clear context¹⁷³; In "the Story of the Capture of Joppa"¹⁷⁴ the barriers at the gate of the city were removed while the Egyptian soldiers, carrying baskets in which additional armed soldiers were concealed, marched in; ᵐw.sn hr ᵇk r p3 dmīᵐt, (ᵐw.sn) hr wn n3y.w ᵐryw, ᵐw.sn hr mh (m n3y) dmīᵐt m ṣrī m ᵇ3y...¹⁷⁵ The passage has been translated

170 Pleyte/Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, pl. 197

171 Černý, Community, 11.

172 Ibid., n. 9.

173 Cf. Wb. I, 312.4.

174 Pap. Harris 500 (BM 10060) vso. 3, 2 (see also vso. 2, 9).

175 Gardiner, LES, 84.

as follows¹⁷⁶: "and they entered the town (and) released their companions. And they captured (the) townspeople, both young and old...".

Thus, wn had the additional value "to release (from confinement), to let out"¹⁷⁷ which may be applicable to our passage as well. "And the scribe 𐤓𐤌𐤍-𐤏𐤕𐤕 let them out from¹⁷⁸ p3 hr" makes perfectly good sense without requiring emendations provided that this translation can be tied up smoothly with the rest of the text. To do so we must first find out for whom the pronoun w in wn.w stands. Since w is plural, it can represent either the four chief stone-cutters or the "two additional men", or, possibly, the combined group. For a more substantial clue we should turn our attention to another verb in the passage, namely, 𐤏𐤍.sn hr 𐤏𐤕𐤕(?) .w. Barring the remote possibility that the reflexive was used, we have to assign each one of the pronouns sn and w to a different group of people. Since the only available groups are the four chief stone-cutters on the one hand, and the "two additional men", on the other, one of them should be the subject, and the other the object of the verb 𐤏𐤕𐤕. This means that the scribe of the document did not intend to lump both groups together into one category, as suggested by Černý's translation, but rather wished to mention a specific interaction between the two.

The only way of making our translation coherent under these circumstances is to regard 𐤏𐤍.sn hr 𐤏𐤕𐤕(?) .w., not as a continuative 𐤏𐤍.f hr sdm of the past, as Černý has proposed, but rather, as a virtual relative whose antecedent can only be (hn^c) rmtw 2¹⁷⁹. In this way some light is shed upon the role played by the "two men" whose mention would have otherwise remained obscure and unaccountable. Despite the "eye" determinative of 𐤏𐤕𐤕, which is anyway unprecedented and could have been prompted by the ending which is similar to that of the word ptr¹⁸⁰, I would opt for the translation "to bind someone (for a specific task), to engage, to hire"¹⁸¹.

A partial translation of the passage should therefore be: "and the royal

¹⁷⁶ Wente in Simpson (ed.), *Literature*, 84.

¹⁷⁷ Sauneron's remarks regarding a Ptolemaic use of the verb wn followed by a direct object and an indirect one introduced by the preposition m (Sauneron, BIFA 62, 1964.20-21) are not applicable to the present case. For what may be a more suitable alternative see Gardiner, AEO I, 66; JI, 323.

¹⁷⁸ For the partitive use of the preposition m see Černý/Groll, LEG, 94 (IX). For more specific examples see Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 227 n.25 (regarding Ostr. DM 148 rto.11), and p.156, below.

¹⁷⁹ Since p3 4 hryw msf šst is defined.

¹⁸⁰ The reading is secure; cf. Černý, *Community*, 11 n.8. For a comparable case, see Pap. Turin Cat. 1976 rto.3-4 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 111.)

¹⁸¹ Cf. Wb. III, 201.7.

butler ($\text{Imn-})\text{h}^{\text{C}}\text{w}$ sent for (lit. "caused to be brought") the four chief stone-cutters of the alabaster as well as two people whom they (i.e. the chief stone-cutters) (regularly) hire r hry p3 st3 , inasmuch as the scribe Imn-nht lets them (the 2 men) out from (allows them out of) p3 hr .

The last part of the passage has been understood as a circumstantial clause instead of the continuative independent iw.f hr sdm of the past. Whether r hry p3 st3 refers to the nature of the activity of the two men or to its site, is immaterial for our main purpose which was to establish the meaning of p3 hr in the passage. We may now conclude that in view of our alternative translation, even if incomplete, p3 hr is fully compatible with our definition of the term and is not equivalent to "the king's tomb in course of construction".

The combination n3 it3w n p3 hr "the thieves of p3 hr ", which occurs repeatedly in the Tomb-Robberies Papyri, has been treated by Černý separately¹⁸², among the problematic cases, because it is not readily compatible with his definition of p3 hr . The basic question is whether a "thief of p3 hr " was a person who had committed thefts in p3 hr , or an inhabitant of p3 hr accused of having committed thefts. Černý's conclusion that the expression had a different meaning in Pap. BM 10068 than it had in Pap. Mayer A¹⁸³ is disconcerting; all the more so, since even this solution could not rid him of all the difficulties. According to Černý, one had to commit robbery in the very tomb that was being prepared for the king, before he could be classified among the it3w n p3 hr . Since, however, there is nowhere in the Tomb-Robberies Papyri an accusation of this sort, while in most cases the it3w n p3 hr are questioned about thefts perpetrated in the Valley of the Queens, Černý prefers to settle for the alternative interpretation of the expression n3 it3w n p3 hr according to which p3 hr designates the origin or the affiliation of the thieves rather than the site which had been robbed. While the evidence of Pap. BM 10068 may sustain this interpretation, that of Pap. Mayer A does not, as Černý himself admits¹⁸⁴.

The whole problem does not even arise if p3 hr is understood in terms of the definition that has been proposed in this chapter. The territory

182 Černý, Community, 19.

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

covered by p3 hr includes, inter alia, both the Royal Valleys so that the violators of tombs situated anywhere in that region could be termed ṯt3w n p3 hr. The term is justly juxtaposed with others, such as "ṯt3w n p3 pr n st3 n King NN" "thieves of the portable shrine of King NN", since the latter, being situated in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet-Habu, lay definitely out of p3 hr.¹⁸⁵

An additional instance that may need elucidation is the combination n3 hnr n p3 hr, "the tools of p3 hr".¹⁸⁶ The workmen utilized two kinds of tools, those which were their private property, for domestic use, and those that were issued to them by the administration for their work in the royal tomb. The distinction was carefully kept because of the intrinsic value of the copper of which the tools were made. Thus, n3 hnr n p3 hr like h3y¹⁸⁷ n Pr-c3¹⁸⁸ should be distinguished from w^c h3 ṯnk "a copper tool of mine"¹⁸⁹. Under those conditions the insistence that the tools belonged to the administration (p3 hr) can be better understood.

One may not conclude this part of the investigation of the term p3 hr without mentioning the exceptional combination ms-hr.¹⁹⁰ The very fact that this term is never encountered in the form *ms n p3 hr tends to suggest that we are dealing here with a combination that may have nothing to do with the questions we have been discussing in this chapter. On the other hand, the presence of the word hr in that combination as well as the uniqueness of its occurrence in the documents of p3 hr cannot be overlooked and necessitate some explanation.

Černý has discussed the problem in detail and has produced many examples¹⁹¹. His translation of the term is "child of (the) Tomb" following his conclusion that these were "boys of the community who could reasonably be expected to become workmen of the Tomb". Elsewhere Černý specifies: "Nowhere is there a 'child of the Tomb' actually doing any work in the Tomb; we get rather the impression that they were given small or occasional jobs, and on

185 Ibid., n.1. Cf. particularly, Pap.Mayer A, 10, 22; 11, 1-2; 12, 1; 13A, 1. (Peet, Mayer Papyri).

186 Pap. Salt 124 rto. 2, 9; vso. 19, 2. (Černý, JEA 15, 1929, 249 n. (31)).

187 For the equivalence between h3 and hnr cf. ibid., 250 n. (43).

188 Massart, MDAIK 15, 1957, 181 and nn. 5-6.

189 Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 46, 2 rto. 3.

190 Černý, Community, 28, 117ff. with bibliography. See also Wente, LRL, 45 n. (g).

191 Černý, Community, 117.

the whole we hear more complaints about them than praise"¹⁹².

In reality there is nothing in the texts to prove that a ms-hr could not be a grown-up person. On the contrary, quite a few examples seem to demand that the ms-hr should be an adult¹⁹³. If then ms cannot be linked with young age, it should probably refer to the origin of these people. Ms-hr may therefore be rendered by "native of hr"¹⁹⁴. In order to explore this possibility we should try to visualize the circumstances in which an inhabitant of the Necropolis would be designated as a ms-hr rather than by his operative title. Inhabitants of p3 hr who had no title to speak of, such as a male person who was not part of the working team and had no other specific title such as scribe or priest etc., and yet wanted to indicate that he was an inhabitant of p3 hr, could resort to this title. Young children would certainly belong to this group of users of ms-hr, but they would not be the only ones to use it. In a way, ms-hr may be regarded as the singular of n3 p3 hr "the inhabitants of p3 hr"¹⁹⁵ since *s n p3 hr was not utilized. Moreover, n3 p3 hr is an expression that could not be

192 Ibid.,118.

193 There is nothing "childish" in the activities attributed to the msw-hr such as: being a messenger of the law-court (ibid.,118 n.7), reporting the death of hr-ms (ibid.,119 n.1), being a companion of a tomb-robber (ibid.,119 n.2), being a witness to an oath and testifying to this effect (ibid.,119 n.4), being respectively the sender and the recipient of a letter (ibid.,119 n.5), coming with a scribe to perform work in a remote valley (ibid.,119 n.6), helping in measuring the rations for the workmen (ibid.,119 n.7), obliterating names on coffins (ibid., 120 n.5). About the remaining occurrences of the term, Černý himself admits that it was "a term....applicable to the complete set of adult workmen of the Tomb" (ibid.,119 and nn.8-10). See also Frandsen, Verbal System,141-42, (exx.12,13). For coffins of adults marked with names of msw-hr see Černý,Community,118 n.4.

194 The emphasis is not on the actual birth but rather on the period of childhood and apprenticeship. Cf. msw n pr.f (Wb.II,139.6) for which "Angehörige" in its widest sense is quite adequate. For a maid-servant of a household belonging to that category see also Černý et al, Répertoire onomastique,103; for a male person designated hm.f msw n pr.f see ibid.,p.108. For ms Pr-Mwt, which probably designated somebody who grew up and obtained his education in a temple of Mut, see Edwards, Amuletic Decrees I,13 n.7.

195 Cf. Černý,Community,16; Gardiner,RAD,53.10.

normally utilized by the inhabitants of the Necropolis concerning themselves; they would have no objection however, to the use of the plural n3 msw-hr in its stead¹⁹⁶.

While it is true that title-bearers of the community of workmen preferred to make use of their specific titles rather than the common denominator ms-hr, conditions could occasionally arise in which the main point to emphasize would concern one's status as a member of the community and not one's specific title therein. Ex. 2Iw.f (hr) d3t h3C.tw r bnr 3w 3nk ms-hr "he caused that I be expelled even though I am a native of hr"¹⁹⁷. Elsewhere, a door-keeper (of p3 hr) is contrasted to a ms-hr as witnesses to an oath¹⁹⁸. The former was an outsider¹⁹⁹ whereas the latter was a representative of the inhabitants of p3 hr²⁰⁰.

Hr in ms-hr cannot be understood as a royal tomb, neither can it be rendered as the administration of p3 hr, since it lacks the essential article p3. Ms-hr should be regarded as an autonomous term, coined like p3 hr by some association of ideas involving the activity for the construction of the royal tomb, and existing by its side²⁰¹. Ms-hr may have preceded the introduction of p3 hr and may have become a fixed compound early enough to prevent it from being transformed into *ms n p3 hr or from becoming unacceptable by documents of mortuary nature which do not tolerate the expression p3 hr.

The much discussed problem regarding the switch of "n p3 hr" titles of the inhabitants of the Necropolis into "m st-m3Ct" ones in documents of certain types will be deferred to the end of the following chapter which deals with the term st-m3Ct.

196 For examples see Černý, Community, 119 nn.8-10, 120 n.5.

197 Ostr.BM 5631 rto.13-14. (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl.88; For a translation, slightly different than the one proposed, cf. Allam, HOUP, 48-49.)

198 Černý, Community, 119 n.4.

199 For the status of the 3ryw-C3 n p3 hr see below, pp.107ff.

200 A similar use of the term ms-hr as a means of differentiation between inhabitants of p3 hr and outsiders is probably to be understood in the example from Pap.Mayer B,8 (Černý, Community, 119 n.2).

201 See above, p.11.

CHAPTER II: ST - M3^CT

The term st-m3^Ct, commonly translated "the Place of Truth", is a controversial toponym encountered repeatedly in the inscriptions of the Theban Necropolis, and particularly in those of the region of Deir el-Medina¹.

Unlike p3 hr, the use of which was almost entirely restricted to hieratic, administrative documents², st-m3^Ct was used by preference in hieroglyphic inscriptions of "mortuary" character³ but it can be also encountered in hieratic texts of the community of workmen, though less frequently so than p3 hr. Its principal occurrences in the Theban documents⁴ can be classified as follows:

a. Inscriptions of "mortuary" character:

1. Independently. Ex. ꜥmy rn.ꜥ m st-m3^Ct mꜥ m3^Cty nb⁵ "place my name in st-m3^Ct like (that of) any righteous one"⁶.

2. In titles. Ex. sš kdw n ꜥImn m st-m3^Ct⁷ "draughtsman of Amon in st-m3^Ct"⁸.

1 For bibliography see below, nn.36,45.

2 The term p3 hr has been discussed in Chapter I, pp.1-37.

3 The term "mortuary" can be misleading; Any inscriptions intended to be useful during the eternal afterlife of an individual should be included in this category. The time of inscription (during one's lifetime or after one's death), its location (in the tomb proper or elsewhere), its contents (religious or other), are immaterial for the purpose of this classification. The required condition of being potent throughout eternity and of causing the memory of the deceased to survive among the living forever is what dictates the language, style and script to be used.

4 Černý has collected and presented the few examples of non-Theban origin mentioning st-m3^Ct. In most cases they clearly refer to local necropoleis, this being in accordance with the use of st-m3^Ct in the Theban documents as we shall see. Since we are interested only in the Theban st-m3^Ct, and since these few documents can be of no assistance towards a better understanding of that particular locality other than strengthening our eventual conclusion that st-m3^Ct = Necropolis, they will not be considered (cf. Černý, *Community*, 62-65). In what follows, unless otherwise stated, st-m3^Ct will be used as an abbreviation for "the Theban st-m3^Ct".

5 Černý, *Community*, 55(f) and n.6.

6 For additional examples of this use see *ibid.*, 37 nn.1-7, 10-11; 38 nn. 2-6; 54-56(a-i).

7 *Ibid.*, 44(3). For Stela Turin Cat.1589 see now Stela N.50036 published in Tosi/Roccati, *Stele DM*, 70, 275.

8 For additional examples of this use see for instance, Černý, *Community*, 44-47.

3. In titles. Ex. sš n st-m3ct⁹ "scribe of st-m3ct"¹⁰.
- b. "Administrative" texts:
1. Independently (Hieroglyphic inscription). Ex. īst rdī.n hm.f m hr n A¹¹ r hhī n3 wpwt n st-m3ct m p3 dw n bhn¹² "His Majesty instructed A to look for the commissions of st-m3ct at the mountain of bhn (mine-region in Wadi Hammamat¹³)"¹⁴.
 2. Independently (Hieratic text). Ex. īw.tw hr w3h.f m st-m3ct r gs t3 hwt Wsr-m3ct-RC-stp-n-RC p3 ntr (C3)¹⁵ "it"¹⁶ was deposited in st-m3ct in the vicinity of the Mortuary Temple of Wsr-m3ct-RC-stp-n-RC the (Great) God (the Ramesseum)"¹⁷.
 3. In titles (Hieratic text). Ex. hmww īmn-rh n st-m3ct¹⁸ "Craftsman of st-m3ct īmn-rh"¹⁹.
 4. In designations of professions (Hieratic text). Ex. īw.tw hr dīt n3 hmww n st-m3ct r khkh īm.s²⁰ "the craftsmen of st-m3ct were put to hammer at it"²¹.

The term st-m3ct has aroused special interest because of its peculiar relationship to p3 hr²². The problem of this relationship has been the main stumbling block in the quest for reliable definitions of both these terms.

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- 9 Ibid.,53 n.7.
 10 For additional examples of this use see *ibid.*,53 n.7.
 11 "A" replaces the names and titles of three officials. Cf. next note.
 12 Hammamat rock-stela No.12, lines 9-12. Latest publication is in Kitchen, RI VI,13.11-15. For a photograph and translation see Christophe, BIFAO 48,1949,1-38,pl.I. Cf. Černý,Community,65(3).
 13 For the site and the bhn-stone see *ibid.*,65 and n.2, 66; see also Goyon, Hammamat,5f.
 14 For additional examples of this use see Černý,Community,65(1)-(5).
 15 Pap.Turin Cat.1879 "of the Gold Mines",rto.3. See Goyon,ASAE 49,1949, pl.2, translated more accurately in Černý,Community,61. See also below, p.56.
 16 Referring to a portrait-statue of bhn-stone, or rather, the stone for preparing one.
 17 For additional examples of this use see Černý,Community,60 nn.1,3,4; 67 nn.2,3.
 18 Ibid.,59 n.3. Cf. Peet,GTR, pl.XIX.
 19 Černý,Community,59 n.4; 62 n.1.
 20 Ibid.,60 n.2. The note should read: P.Turin Cat 2002 rto. III,24-25. For the hieratic facs. see Pleyte/Rossi,Papyrus de Turin,pl.105. For a hieroglyphic transcription see now Allam,HOU,Plates,pl.133.
 21 For additional examples of this use see Černý,Community,62 n.2.
 22 Ibid.,31-34

Undoubtedly, there can be no in-depth understanding of p3 hr unless its connection with st-m3^Ct is clarified, and that can hardly happen unless st-m3^Ct itself is properly defined.

The main evidence bearing on the interdependence between p3 hr and st-m3^Ct was discovered in the village of Deir el-Medina. The systematical excavations at Deir el-Medina²³ have produced conclusive indications that the village which was unearthed there had served as dwelling premises for the workmen of p3 hr and their families during the Ramesside Period²⁴. Yet, the visitor to the village in antiquity, as well as the archaeologist today, could have looked around in vain for inscriptions that might reveal this straightforward connection between the village-its monuments and its inhabitants-and p3 hr. The term p3 hr did not figure on any of the accessible inscriptions of Deir el-Medina, though these were quite numerous; instead, the walls of private funerary chapels or of communal shrines, the stelae, the sculptures, the door-jambs, the offering tables etc, declared most of the male inhabitants of the village to be "servants" sdmw-^Cy (or bearers of higher titles) in st-m3^Ct²⁴.

Only those who had access to the archives of the community, which were normally kept by the local scribe²⁵, could have realized that the same workmen who wished to be known and remembered as sdmw-^Cy m st-m3^Ct "servants in st-m3^Ct" were in fact the rmtw-ⁱst "crew-members", or bearers of higher titles of p3 hr mentioned in the administrative texts.

Whatever the purpose of the substitution of p3 hr by st-m3^Ct in their titles may have been, it was clearly a conscious and consistent procedure which followed, almost unfailingly, the rule: "Title + name + n p3 hr" changes into "Same title / sdm-^Cy + (n Nb-t3wy) + m st-m3^Ct + name". N Nb-t3wy, "of the lord of the Two Lands", seems to have been optional²⁶,

23 The history of the archaeological activities in Deir el-Medina has been conveniently summarized by Dominique Valbelle who is at present active in the region in an attempt to evaluate the overall significance of the archaeological discoveries. Cf. Valbelle, Deir el-Médineh in Helck/Otto. *LdÄ* I, cols. 1028-34. Particularly cols. 1028-30 and nn. 3-4. See also Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 429ff; idem, BIFAO 76, 1976, 317ff.

24 Černý, Rev. Eg. anc. 2, 1929, 200-209; idem, Community, 33.

25 Ibid., 226 n. 7.

26 Compare nos. 1-25 in Lists (I) and (II) with nos. 1A-25A of the further list in ibid., 44-47 and 48-49.

possibly because the addition was felt to be self-evident²⁷, while m st-m3Ct could be occasionally substituted by hr 3hty nhh "at the Horizon of Eternity"²⁸ or by m pr-dt "in the House of Everlastingness"²⁹, and could be augmented at will by hr imntt W3st "at the West of Thebes"³⁰.

It is therefore apparent that some definite correspondence between p3 hr and st-m3Ct ought to be postulated in order to justify the mechanism, if not the logic, of the transition. However, before this feeling is allowed to turn into conviction, there are a few hieratic documents bearing adverse evidence which ought to be considered. These documents, also from the Theban Necropolis, show clearly that the workmen of p3 hr considered p3 hr to be a quite separate entity than the one named st-m3Ct. Routine notations in the journal of the local administration of p3 hr contained numerous references to members of the community of workmen by name and title. In such cases the addition n p3 hr was normally left out since there was no danger of confusion; therefore, when, once in a while, the name and title of an individual in such a list is followed by n st-m3Ct, it becomes apparent that the addition was meant to mark apart an outsider from the local people³¹. This differentiation is borne out by another example according to which several groups of workmen, all from Western Thebes, were mobilized to drag some heavy loads; one of these groups is identified as rmtw-īst n p3 hr s 120 "crew-members of p3 hr 120 men", while another group was st-m3Ct s 40 "st-m3Ct, 40 men"³².

On this issue Peet expressed his disbelief in Černý's attempt to show that p3 hr and st-m3Ct were equivalent (at that time Černý thought that both terms were designations of the Theban Necropolis), and he noted: "Černý....

27 The use of the term sdm-Cš in general is by no means restricted to the combination with Nb-t3wy (for a wide selection of combinations cf. Gauthier, BIFAO 13, 1918, 164ff.). Nevertheless, the combination sdm Cš n Nb-t3wy is the one employed over and over in the inscriptions of Deir el-Medina. The formula became, in fact, so commonplace that not only n Nb-t3wy was frequently left out but even the basic sdm-Cš m st-m3Ct was often abbreviated to little more than four hieroglyphic signs, to save space or work.

28 Černý, Community, 76-78.

29 Ibid., 80-81.


30 Ibid., 40.

31 See for instance Ostr. Cairo CG 25621, 3 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 62*).

32 Pap. Turin Cat. 2044 (Kitchen, RI VI, 340-43), mentioned in Černý, Community, 60.

believes that the phrase servants of the Place of Truth is identical with the People of the Necropolis rmt-ḥst n p3 hr.... Now in 10053, ro. 7,8³³, and 10052, 8.17³⁴ we find two persons each called 'craftsman of the Place of Truth', ḥmw n st-m3^Ct: if the Place of Truth is nothing other than the Necropolis it is very curious that among all the titles (including ḥmw) in these papyri followed by the designation 'of the Necropolis' we should find just two followed by 'of the Place of Truth'.³⁵

Being well aware of the problems involved, Černý has given the term st-m3^Ct special attention and has mentioned it on several occasions, the most detailed study being a series of four chapters in his posthumously published book "A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period"³⁶. In these chapters, which follow immediately the ones on p3 hr, a summary of the various views, old and contemporary, regarding the significance of st-m3^Ct is presented alongside with numerous references and quotations of the term in its various contexts. Černý's final conclusions can be summed up as follows:

- a. St-m3^Ct of the Theban documents did not have a single meaning but could be rendered, **depending** upon the context, by expressions as different from one another as "the Beyond"³⁷, "a cemetery"³⁷, "a tomb"³⁷, "the king's Tomb in course of construction"³⁸, "the living community of the king's tomb"³⁹, "a workshop in Western Thebes which also served as a penitentiary and specialized in stone-cutting and, possibly, wood-carving"⁴⁰.
- b. Despite this multiplicity of meanings, the predominant translation-particularly when the term is part of a title-ought to be "the king's Tomb" meaning the one of the reigning Pharaoh. Hence, st-m3^Ct was equivalent to p3 hr⁴¹.
- c. St-m3^Ct replaces p3 hr in the titles of necropolis workmen in "more formal and chiefly hieroglyphic inscriptions" because it was considered "more suitable than  'the Tomb' of the spoken language and of the administrative jargon"⁴².

33 Pap.BM 10053. See Peet,GTR,p1.XIX.

34 Pap.BM 10052. See *ibid.*,p1.XXX.

35 *Ibid.*,10.

36 Černý,Community,29-67.

37 *Ibid.*,36.

38 *Ibid.*,34.

39 *Ibid.*,47,56.

40 *Ibid.*,62.

41 *Ibid.*,42-43.

42 *Ibid.*,43.

Additional theories have been voiced by various scholars, stressing one or another aspect of st-m3Ct from among those mentioned by Černý, and proposing alternative sites for its location⁴³; the disagreement among those theories was however so fundamental that Černý could remark that "by 1928, every part of the Theban necropolis had been suggested as the possible location of the 'Place of Truth'"⁴⁴.

Černý's own research on st-m3Ct which we have just summarized, has been the most significant contribution to the subject made ever since, while the publication of additional documents containing the term has enabled a better perspective on its various uses⁴⁵. The subject has not been discussed recently, nor is there any insistent opposition to Černý's views in recent translations of the texts⁴⁶.

Our own interest in st-m3Ct in the context of this study is manifold. Apart from its being a toponym utilized by the members of the community of workmen of the Theban Necropolis, and therefore pertinent to our subject in its own merit, there are serious indications that unless st-m3Ct is well understood, p3 hr itself will remain unclear, at least in part, since the two are uncontestably linked. The new definition of p3 hr in the last chapter⁴⁷ necessitates an immediate re-evaluation of Černý's definition of st-m3Ct in order to decide whether the two terms can still remain equivalent, as he has claimed, despite the fact that p3 hr cannot be identified with the king's tomb any more, particularly when utilized in the titles of the workmen. If it becomes evident that the equivalence between st-m3Ct and the king's tomb should be the one to retain, one ought to reconsider the nature of the relationship between p3 hr and st-m3Ct.

The multifariousness of aspects of st-m3Ct⁴⁸, which has been the working

43 Ibid.,29-34.

44 Ibid.,33.

45 The following contributions to the study of st-m3Ct, whether in the form of discussions over its meaning or publications of additional texts of particular interest for its understanding, should be added to the list presented by Černý: Černý,CAH²,5-6; idem,Stelae Bankes; Clère,BIFAO 28, 1929,173-201; Marciniak,Deir el-Bahari I,38-40,97-98(No.41); Thomas,RNT, 58,68 n.10; Habachi,Tavole d'offerta,Nos.22025-22044; Tosi/Roccati, Stele DM; Valbelle,Ouchehtis DM; CEDAE,Graffiti.

46 See for instance Tosi,Stirpe di pittori,6; Bonnet/Valbelle,BIFAO 75, 1975,433.

47 See p.16, above.

48 See p.42(a).

principle in Černý's study of the term, is another problem in urgent need of elucidation. Was it not Černý himself who, several chapters back, pronounced himself against this principle claiming that "tomb" (i.e. the unit) and "necropolis" (i.e. the collective) cannot normally be rendered by one and the same term⁴⁹? Yet, when it came to st-m3^Ct, he did not object that both notions should be attributed to it among others, even less compatible ones with one another.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that accepting Černý's definition of st-m3^Ct (and his view regarding its equivalence with p3 hr), or not, is only part of the problem; based upon this definition, Černý has compiled several important lists of title-bearers in the community of workmen⁵⁰ which are now considered standard reference material for the dating of documents and events in the Theban necropolis⁵¹. If Černý's assumptions prove to have been erroneous, the lists will have to be reconsidered and partly altered⁵². The re-evaluation of the definition of st-m3^Ct seems therefore to be not only a question of theoretical importance, but also one that can have immediate consequences in various practical aspects of the study of the community of workmen.

Černý has convincingly demonstrated that a number of individuals known from inscriptions as title-bearers m st-m3^Ct are identical to owners of the same titles, names and parentage but declared as being n p3 hr in the administrative documents of the community⁵³. When he proposed, however, to equate p3 hr and st-m3^Ct, he refrained from making use of this result to prove the validity of his view; instead, he advanced the following argument: One





49 Černý, Community, 16.

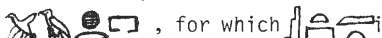
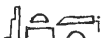
50 Ibid., 123-26 (Chief Workmen); 134, 144-45 (Deputies); 150, 153 (Guardians); 163, 169-70 (Door-keepers); 230A (Scribes); 269 (Chiefs of Police); 270-77 (Policemen).

51 Cf. Bierbrier, JEA 63, 1977, 187.

52 In his discussions of the various title-bearers Černý has retained the differentiation between titles n p3 hr (which he translates "of the Tomb") and m st-m3^Ct (in the "Place of Truth"). This was done despite the fact that Černý regarded the terms as being equivalent, "for the sake of clearness.....so as to leave no doubt about the nature-whether hieratic or hieroglyphic-of the source of information" (Černý, Community, 43). The real danger of confusion lies, however, in the very fact that individuals of both groups were introduced in lists purporting to be homogeneous in their contents.

53 See above, n.24.

thing only requires to be added at this juncture: since  p3 hr, has been shown....to mean 'the Tomb' of the reigning Pharaoh and the expression  , st-m3^Ct, 'the Place of Truth' to admit, besides the more vague 'the hereafter' or 'necropolis', also the rendering 'the tomb' (above, p.34), there seems nothing to prevent the equating of  and  "54. This seems to be Černý's unique argument in favor of the equation and yet it has several weak points.

Even if both his a priori assumptions were correct (i.e. p3 hr = "the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh" and st-m3^Ct = "the tomb") his conclusion would still be misleading, if not totally unwarranted. In fact, "there seems nothing to prevent...." is a suspicious argument ex silentio, inasmuch as there equally seems nothing to advocate the equating of the terms. Concerning st-m3^Ct, Černý has not presented any evidence that can lead one to believe that it refers to the particular tomb which was being prepared for the reigning Pharaoh. As regards the a priori assumptions themselves, the equation of p3 hr with the king's tomb has been challenged in our last chapter and there is no need to repeat the arguments here. For the equation of st-m3^Ct with 'the tomb' (any tomb) Černý refers the reader to p.34. There, however, one finds nothing but a quotation from an article by Gardiner in which he supposedly declares the equation valid⁵⁵. Much as one admires Gardiner's scholarship, this in itself cannot be considered proof. Moreover, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that Gardiner did not accept Černý's view concerning the equation of st-m3^Ct with the king's tomb or any tomb⁵⁶. The initial clause in Gardiner's remark, omitted by Černý, is essential for the understanding of his intention. The complete sentence reads as follows: "Since the greater includes the smaller this return to the old view of Maspero could not contradict Černý's certainly correct view that  , for which  is the usual substitute in the tombs, properly refers to the tomb of the reigning king in course of construction"⁵⁷. In other words, Gardiner accepts Maspero's belief that st-m3^Ct = Necropolis and states that this does not contradict Černý's view

54 Černý, Community, 43.

55 Gardiner, JEA 24, 1938, 163 n.5.

56 In fact Černý had not even published such a view at that time (cf. Černý, Community, 34).

57 Gardiner, loc.cit.

that p3 hr = the king's tomb, for whoever considered himself a title-bearer of the tomb was automatically a title-bearer in the necropolis, since the greater includes the smaller. However, it is not just the relevancy of the back-reference to Gardiner that we are criticising⁵⁸, but the validity of the argument itself. There is not a single example among those quoted by Černý in which the translation "the tomb (private or royal)" is actually demanded by the context for st-m3^{Ct} in preference than "the necropolis", which is the basic value of the term⁵⁹. Černý's intention had been to show that each one of the two terms, p3 hr and st-m3^{Ct}, could be separately proved equivalent to "the king's Tomb" and therefore mutually equivalent as well. The equation: "workmen n p3 hr" = "servants m st-m3^{Ct}", which could have then been deduced from the equality of the terms, was meant to provide supporting evidence to the several cases for which he had been able to demonstrate that same identity by means of direct prosopographical methods.

We have seen that this trend of thought cannot be accepted any more; nor can one reverse Černý's process by utilizing his prosopographical identifications between workmen of p3 hr and servants in st-m3^{Ct} in order to prove the terms equal. Even if one could demonstrate that all members of the "n p3 hr-Group" had an equivalent counterpart in the "m st-m3^{Ct} Group", which is an impossible feat at the present stage of our knowledge, one would still have to prove the opposite as well (i.e., that all members m st-m3^{Ct} had their equivalent counterpart in p3 hr) before a one-to-one equivalence between the groups could be demonstrated and even then we would have had no guarantee whatsoever that the same equivalence would remain valid if transferred to the toponyms themselves. The rejection of Černý's definition of st-m3^{Ct} brings us back to the point of departure.

A new approach to the problem shall be therefore attempted starting, this time, with the study of the independent uses of the term, and leaving its disputed role in the titles for a later stage of the discussion. Unlike Černý and others who have advanced the theory of a "manifold meaning" for

58 As the book was published posthumously, we must allow for the possibility that the page reference may have been filled in in the course of editing; Černý might have, instead, referred the reader to his two chapters entitled: "'Place of Truth' as a designation of 'Tomb', 'here-after'" and "'Place of Truth', 'the Tomb' of the reigning king".

59 Černý himself admits that "the term 'Place of Truth' could stand for any of the three alternatives (grave, cemetery, the Beyond) and it is often difficult, or even impossible, to determine which of them suits a given context". Černý, Community, 36.

st-m3^Ct, we shall adopt the basic attitude that a single, well-founded meaning should be maintained as long as there is no obvious need to resort to alternative ones.

St-m3^Ct was understood, at least in some examples, as being "the Place of (the goddess) Maat". This is made clear by the occasional use of determinatives for a (female) divinity⁶⁰. The aspect of Maat we have in mind is revealed in a Ramesside inscription from the Deir el-Bahari Temple of Tuthmosis III: T3 Dhnt C3t nt ʾImntt, m rn.s pwy n M3^Ct s3t-R^C hry-ʾb T3-dsrt⁶¹. "The⁶² Great Peak of the West in this its name of Maat, the daughter of Re⁶³, who resides in the Sacred Land (the Necropolis)".

The Western Peak, which is here identified with Maat the daughter of Re⁶⁴ is given many additional divine attributes in the documents of the Necropolis⁶⁵. Mrt-sgr⁶⁶, Hft-hr-nb.s⁶⁷, Hnwt-dww⁶⁸ (the lady of the mountains),

60 Ibid., 38 n.6 (mentioned inadvertently again in p.40 n.1), 59 n.4, 67 n.2. See also Ostr.Cairo CG 25764 vso.4 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 94*).

61 Marciniak, Deir el Bahari I, 67 (inscription No.8 lines 1-2).

62 This is probably the appellative.

63 According to Marciniak's transcription, the text has the masculine hry-ʾb. In the late New Kingdom, however, this orthography may serve both genders (see n.64 for an example) so that the title "residing in the Necropolis" may equally refer to Re or to Maat.

64 This deity is most probably different from M3^Ct s3t RC hry-ʾb W3st for which cf. Vernus, BIFA0 75, 1975, 106-107.

65 For the "Peak" of Western Thebes see Otto, Topographie, 47.

66 Ibid., 47 n.8. The stela has now the number 50058 and is published in Tosi/Roccati, Stele DM, 94-96, 286. See also Otto, loc.cit., n.6.

67 Ibid., 46-49. See also Nims, JNES 14, 1955, 118.

68 Hnwt dww is an epithet of a goddess rather than the name of one. It is attributed to Hathor-the-lady-of-the-West in a statuette (no.3046 in the Museum of Turin) for which see Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1929, 33. It is also borne by the divinised Ahmose-Nefertari (or could it be referred to Maat?) in the following inscription from a British Museum stela of H^C: ʾIn hry st C3(t) H^C whm Cnh b3k n hmt-ntr m st-m3^Ct hnwt dww (Urk. IV, 1645.14-15), "By the chief of the Great Place H^C living again, servant of the god's wife in st-m3^Ct the Lady of the Mountains". Apart from Amon-Re and Nefertari, only King Tuthmosis IV and, in the lower part, H^C himself are depicted on the stela. Černý (Community, 47, 298-300) has sought to attribute the epithet hnwt dww to H^C's wife, proposing that this was her name. In order to back his proposition he had to assume that the stela in question was a copy made by a later foreman, ʾInhr-H^C, in the style and terminology of an original one belonging to the owner of tomb No.8 of Deir el-Medina H^C. Since the original H^C's wife was Mryt and not Hnwt-dww, Černý has proposed that the only contribution of the later foreman to the contents of the stela was his own wife's name Hnwt-dww. In order to accept this unusual statement, we would need at least an indication of relationship to H^C on the stela, the portrait of that wife behind that of her "husband", and a feminine ending to the word b3k. Since these are missing,

Hwt-hrt hry(t)-tp W3st ʔmntt⁶⁹ (Hathor-presiding-over-Western-Thebes), the divinized god's wife Ahmose-Nefertari⁷⁰ are all interconnected and interchangeable with t3 dhnt and hence with M3Ct, when viewed as patron goddesses of the Theban Necropolis. If st-m3Ct is regarded as being the abode of this particular Maat hr ʔmntt W3st "at the West of Thebes", the basic identification of the term with the entire Theban Necropolis becomes inevitable. Indeed, st-m3Ct and hrt-ntr "cemetery, necropolis" are juxtaposed in two parallel inscriptions of Tomb No.4 of ʔn at Deir el-Medina⁷¹, implying that they had similar meanings. All mentions of the absolute term st-m3Ct in funerary or religious contexts can be readily translated in this way, there being no need to widen its scope to include "the Beyond", or to restrict it to a specific necropolis or a specific tomb.

The following characteristics have been attributed to st-m3Ct in various documents of mortuary type from the Theban area: The deceased is turned over to st-m3Ct upon death⁷²; he is driven there by oxen to rest⁷³; the balance (i.e. the principal instrument for the "Judgement of the Soul") exists there⁷⁴; a cat-headed door-keeper guards it⁷⁵; Osiris gives happiness in st-m3Ct⁷⁶; and indeed, being in st-m3Ct means residing in the vicinity

and in view of the parallel example in which Hathor was defined as hnwt dww, one is still better off in dating this stela to the reign of Tuthmosis IV and in attributing to HC the title of "servant of the god's wife (i.e. of Ahmose-Nefertari)" in st-m3Ct. Thus, b3k n hmt-ntr m st-m3Ct becomes an appropriate parallel to the much more frequent sdm-cs n Nb-t3wy m st-m3Ct "servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in st-m3Ct". Under these conditions, hnwt dww can only be an epithet characterizing Nefertari, or just possibly, Maat.

69 Cf. Bruyère, Mert Seger, 209 fig. 108. The cow having the attributes of Hathor and shown emerging from the Western Mountain is named T3 dhnt ʔmntt. The translation "The-One-who-belongs-to-the-Western-Peak" might be preferable than "The Western Peak" in view of a parallel from the Hermitage in which a similar cow (though in a papyrus thicket background) is named tnt ʔmntt, "The-One-of-the-West" (Piotrovsky (ed.), Hermitage, No. 71). For this specific use of t3 and tnt in Late Egyptian see Černý/Groll, LEG, 45. For an example mentioning Hathor by name in connection with the Peak see Otto, Topographie, 47 n. 5.

70 See n. 68, above. For her status as a patron deity of Western Thebes see Gitton, Nefertari.

71 Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 46 (right jamb b).

72 Černý, Community, 40 n. 1.

73 Ibid., 37 n. 11.

74 Ibid., 38 n. 1. This example is from a tomb at Aniba and therefore refers to another necropolis.

75 Ibid., 37 n. 5.

76 Ibid., 38 n. 3.

of the Great God of the Necropolis⁷⁷; Amon-Re, the god who rejoices with m3Ct, is beneficent (to the deceased) in st-m3Ct⁷⁸, while Thoth, the scribe of the Ennead, offers st-m3Ct to anyone who has been righteous in his life (ỉr m3Ct)⁷⁹; one is given a goodly burial at the West of Thebes in st-m3Ct⁸⁰ while another declares not having committed evil in st-m3Ct⁸¹; the god Harakhty is urged to set in st-m3Ct⁸² etc.

In all these examples and others of a similar nature⁸³, the translation "necropolis" seems to be quite adequate. This meaning is therefore a safe point of departure for the investigation of additional occurrences of the term, this time in documents of a different nature.

The examples we have utilized thus far⁸⁴ were all of the same type inasmuch as they all regard st-m3Ct as being a region of the dead or of their guardian gods⁸⁵. This is hardly surprising since the Theban Necropolis was primarily the realm of the dead and their gods. However, it was also the working region of various teams of living people; those who prepared the tombs, those who built the shrines and the temples of the gods, and those who provided auxiliary services and supervision to the working teams.

For some of these workmen of the necropolis st-m3Ct was not only their working site, but also, as in the case of the workmen of p3 hr, their dwelling region, the place in which they expected to spend their whole life. The "necropolis of the living" coincided geographically with the necropolis of the dead and of their gods, and therefore, there was no particular reason for not using the same term, st-m3Ct, to denote its additional aspect as well. In fact we do the same thing ourselves when we refer to these people as "workmen" or "inhabitants of the Necropolis" though, taken literally, the inhabitants of the "city of the dead" ought to be the dead.

As far as the written documents are concerned, the very notion of st-m3Ct as a working site implies the potential existence of administrative

77 Černý, Community, 38 n.6.

78 Deir el-Medina Tomb No.2. Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 18.

79 Černý, Community, 38 n.2.

80 Ibid., 37 n.6.

81 Ibid., 36 nn.1-2.

82 Ibid., 37 n.3.

83 Cf. for instance the parallelism between st-m3Ct and sp3t Nbt-krst "the domain of the Mistress-of-Burial", Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 89 (Tomb No.211).

84 See pp.48-49, above.

85 They belong to Type a1 according to our classification, cf.p.38.

documents mentioning st-m3^Ct, not in a mortuary, quasi-religious context, but as an ordinary toponym designating a site in which routine activity of living people was taking place.

Moreover, those among the workmen of st-m3^Ct who were permanently attached to the necropolis area may be expected to have incorporated the term st-m3^Ct to their titles, inasmuch as the execution of a certain job in the Necropolis, rather than somewhere else, could well be the salient characteristic that might best identify them and distinguish them from their colleagues who were employed elsewhere. One may therefore expect st-m3^Ct to occur in administrative documents, not only as an independent toponym⁸⁶, but also as part of the titles of the people involved⁸⁷; This last use however, was not considered obligatory, as many workmen of st-m3^Ct could have been active there as employees of some formal administrative authority to which they were permanently attached. In that case, they would prefer to define themselves as employees of their regular unit rather than "workmen in st-m3^Ct".

Those who eventually did make use of st-m3^Ct in their titles for administrative purposes were naturally entitled to transfer it to their tomb inscriptions as well⁸⁸. Thus, we may expect to find st-m3^Ct as part of a title in mortuary inscriptions of people who had been actively involved in that region during their lifetime.

This theoretical approach to the definition of st-m3^Ct is meant to supply general guidelines for the interpretation of the various examples. Specific details shall have to be worked out separately as the problems present themselves.

In view of our tentative definition of st-m3^Ct as the Theban Necropolis, any working site within that vast area was, by definition, part of st-m3^Ct. Considering the fact that work of some type must have been continuously in progress in one site or another of st-m3^Ct throughout the New Kingdom, one would expect a much larger amount of occurrences of the term used independently to have survived than there actually is. In fact, out of many thousands of extant administrative documents from the Theban Necropolis, only a meagre handful of attestations of the independent st-m3^Ct have been noted⁸⁹.

86 Cf. Type b2, p.38, above.

87 Cf. Type b3, p.39, above.

88 Types a2 and a3, pp.38,39, above.

89 For the examples see nn.15,17, and possibly also 20, 21 above.

To understand this state of affairs, we ought to re-open the question of the special status of p3 hr in Western Thebes.

The territory occupied by p3 hr was undoubtedly part of the Theban st-m3Ct⁹⁰. Both in theory and in practice, all the inhabitants of p3 hr were inhabitants of st-m3Ct and their titles should be expected to reflect this situation. In reality, however, this does not happen, or rather, it happens only insofar as the titles in their "mortuary" inscriptions are concerned. There, the people of p3 hr are duly qualified as workmen in st-m3Ct in agreement with our theory. In their administrative documents, however, not only are they not mentioned as title-bearers in st-m3Ct, they are even shown as being specifically distinct from occasional individuals who do bear titles containing the term st-m3Ct⁹¹. Some sense can be put into this seemingly contradictory evidence by adopting the following assumptions.

Though there existed several scattered necropoleis, royal and private, in western Thebes, and each may have had its own designation, the authorities regarded the interior of western Thebes, i.e., the Theban Necropolis proper, as a single unit for purposes of supervision. That unit bore the name St-m3Ct (hr ʔmntt W3st). Several other designations, such as sp3t-nhh⁹², 3hty-nhh⁹³, pr-dt⁹⁴, sp3t nt M3Ct⁹⁵, st-nhh⁹⁶ and st ʔt3w⁹⁷ which are mentioned in the documents, may have been synchronical or diachronical parallels of st-m3Ct in the course of the New Kingdom, or else, some may have been more restricted or less so than st-m3Ct; our evidence regarding the parallels is not always clear but this does not affect our principal issue.

A high official of the royal administration was normally in charge of activities in that region. Titles such as sʔ nswt m st-m3Ct, h3ty-C m sp3t nhh⁹⁸

90 This statement is based upon the definitions of p3 hr and st-m3Ct, and is strongly supported by the considerable accumulation of monuments mentioning st-m3Ct in the territory of p3 hr.

91 For examples, see above, p.39 nn.18-21.

92 See for instance n.98.

93 The term is discussed in Černý, Community, 74-78.

94 Ibid., 80-81.

95 Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1930, pl.30 (bottom horizontal line).

96 Černý, Community, 78-79.

97 Ibid., 79-80.

98 Cf. Tosi/Roccati, Stele DM, 122-24. The inscription is from a decorated block (Turin N.50055) from a naos in a chapel belonging to ʔImn-m-ʔIpt, at Deir el-Medina. The reference to Černý, Stelae Bankes, in the bibliographical note should be deleted. Instead, the Berlin Group No.6910 bearing interesting inscriptions should be added (cf. Roeder (ed.), Berlin Inschriften II, 63ff).

"royal scribe in st-m3Ct, regional chief in the Domain of Eternity"; hry-k3wt m 3hty nhh, C3 n c n pr-dt⁹⁹ "chief of works in the horizon of Eternity, great one of the region of the House of Everlastingness"; imy-r k3t m st-m3Ct wd n.f imntt W3st¹⁰⁰ "overseer of works in st-m3Ct to whom the West of Thebes is entrusted"; and others of a similar type, can be shown to have been borne by such officials.

Apart from the construction of the royal tomb, which must have been the main official activity in st-m3Ct, there were occasional temples and shrines to be built, and probably some preparatory work for the construction of the royal mortuary temples, such as the rough cutting of building stones or the preparation of effigies from bhn-stone at some later period, to be performed in st-m3Ct as well. Therefore, in addition to the aforementioned term k3t m st-m3Ct we also hear about wpwt (n) st-m3Ct¹⁰¹ "commissions of st-m3Ct" mentioned several times in the Hammamat mining region as well as in Western Thebes¹⁰². There also existed a sculpting workshop hwt-nbw, probably situated in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina¹⁰³. The hwt-ntrw "shrines/temples" of st-m3Ct which are mentioned in the titles of certain scribes¹⁰⁴, did not refer to the royal mortuary temples, but rather to the shrines and chapels that stood just outside the northern entrance of the wadi of Deir el-Medina¹⁰⁵ and possibly others as well, such as the shrines of Ptah and Meretseger on the way from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Queens¹⁰⁶, the small chapel at the col just above the Valley of the Kings¹⁰⁷, etc.

99 Ostr.Cairo CG 25764 vso.1 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 94*).

100 This inscription is on a statue of Vizier P3-sr cf. Černý, Community, 58 n.2. The equation there to Brit.Mus.687 should be deleted since the latter (for which see James, HTBM IX, 15-16 and pl.10) bears no such title.

101 Černý, Community, 65(1)-(3).

102 See below, p.56.

103 For several examples see Valbelle, Hay, 32 and nn.3-4. In view of the title ms sšm(w) n ntrw nbw m hwt-nbw, "fashioner of effigies for every god in the sculptor's workshop" (ibid), one is probably safe to assume that hwt-ms-ntrw "Mansion of fashioning gods" to which several artists (draughtsmen, scribes, sculptors, craftsmen) of p3 hr were attached, was the aforementioned institution. Cf. Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 28 (no.1960); 126 (no.2836). For hwt-nbw st-m3Ct see also Marciniak, Deir el-Bahari I, 98.

104 Hwt ntrw nbw imntt (Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, No.2596) alternates with hwt-ntrw st-m3Ct (ibid., no.2026). In most instances, however, it is the bare hwt-ntrw that occurs in titles, mainly of scribes. See for instance ibid., Nos.1689, 1697, 1723, 1960, 2006, 2538, 2577, 2661.

105 Cf. Valbelle, Deir el-Medineh in Helck/Otto, LdA I, cols.1029-30.

106 Cf. Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, pl.XXXVIII.

107 Cf. idem, Mert Seger, pls.1-7.

The organization of the working unit or units of st-m3Ct during the first half of the New Kingdom is far from being clear for lack of appropriate documentation, and it would be quite risky to apply the knowledge we have obtained from documents concerned with later periods for the interpretation of a reality earlier by almost two centuries than the one portrayed in the documents.

We know that the settlement at Deir el-Medina was initiated in the early reigns of Dynasty XVIII; we can also tell that it underwent several stages of development before it took the form which is known to us from the texts of the late Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasties. One may regard the history of the village of Deir el-Medina during the first half of the New Kingdom as a long formative period about the details of which we are very much in the dark¹⁰⁸. Who lived in the village during that period, and in what conditions? Were all its inhabitants employed in the various activities in st-m3Ct? and conversely, is it not possible that, instead of living in Deir el-Medina, many workmen of st-m3Ct would have been commissioned from among the local population of Western Thebes for specific jobs after the completion of which they would return to their respective homes and families? Were all workmen of st-m3Ct of that early period buried in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina whether they lived in the village or not? What was the exact status of the imy-r k3t n st C3t Hc¹⁰⁹ "overseer of works of the Great (August) Place Hc" whose Eighteenth Dynasty tomb was found intact in the necropolis of the village¹¹⁰? Was he an Eighteenth Dynasty precursor of the Chief Royal Administrators-of-all-activities in st-m3Ct like the ones we mentioned above, or was he rather a slightly lesser functionary with no far-embracing titles in the central administration, who was the responsible on the spot for the construction of the royal tomb, in which case he would be a precursor of the later foremen of p3 hr? For all we know, he and the few others of his period about whom we have some slight information¹¹¹, could have combined both functions into one, or rather,

108 Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 430-46.

109 Cf. Stela Turin N.50007, Tosi/Roccati, Stela DM, 39-41, 263. For his additional title hry (n) st C3(t) "Chief of the Great Place" see Urk. IV, 1645.14.

110 Schiaparelli, Cha; Vandier d'Abbadie, Khâ.

111 Cerný, Community, 72-74.

the functions could have been split only at a later period when the activities in Western Thebes became more complex. All these questions and many more cannot be answered at the present state of our documentation. This holds true also for the claim that st-^C3t in the titles of H^C and a few others was the early version of what became later st-m3^Ct and that the two should be regarded as being equivalent¹¹².

After the Amarna Period the village of Deir el-Medina became reorganized and, some time in the first half of Dynasty XIX, a separate administrative unit was created for the construction of the royal tomb, or an already existing one was confined to the region of the inside and became isolated from all other activities in st-m3^Ct in order to preserve the secret of the location of the royal tomb. The community thus formed had its headquarters in the village of Deir el-Medina, and its members had to adapt themselves to several strict measures of isolation.

This unique situation was bound to bring about in the course of time a certain feeling of local-patriotism which the authorities did nothing to discourage. Though, officially, still inhabitants of the Theban st-m3^Ct, the members of that community coined a special term for their new administration, p3 hr¹¹³. The differentiation between members of p3 hr and outsiders was carefully kept by the inmates of Deir el-Medina; their official documents kept on using "workmen of st-m3^Ct" when referring to their former colleagues who were still active in other parts of the Theban Necropolis, but utilized "workmen (of p3 hr)" for members of their own administration. The term p3 hr was not accepted, however, as an official designation of that administration until late in the Twentieth Dynasty¹¹⁴. Officially, the title-bearers of p3 hr were still title-bearers of st-m3^Ct¹¹⁵.

Since "mortuary" monuments are usually the last to give in to innovations and often utilize archaistic forms and clichés, these monuments were even slower in adopting the term p3 hr as a valid designation of the new administration, and retained the original st-m3^Ct instead¹¹⁶. Thus, the

112 Ibid., 73-74; accepted by Bonnet/Valbelle, op.cit., 443.

113 See above, p. 11.

114 See above, p. 29.

115 Cf. Ostr. DM 303,1 (Černý, Ostraca DM IV, pl. 18); Ostr. Gardiner 153,1 (Černý, Community, 53 n.1); Ostr. Cairo CG 25671,3 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 75*).

116 Only in Dynasty XXI does the term p3 hr figure in mortuary documents cf. Černý, Community, 26 n.5.

workmen of p3 hr were not free to use their newly-coined titles in their tombs and their other property for the afterlife; they avoided, however, to define themselves as "workmen of st-m3Ct", which was the very term they reserved for outsiders, and settled for "workmen m st-m3Ct"¹¹⁷ which did not contradict their affiliation to p3 hr but merely stated their general location.

It is probably a combination of luck, intensivity of archaeological research and a vague reflection upon the actual situation in antiquity that has resulted in the discovery of the overwhelming majority of administrative documents of the Theban Necropolis in the region of p3 hr. Under such circumstances one cannot expect to find too many examples of st-m3Ct used independently, or even in titles, in the administrative documents. The contribution of the few extant examples of this type to the verification of our theory will be discussed in the following pages. The most formal among the non mortuary inscriptions mentioning the independent st-m3Ct is not an administrative document. It is an inscription of royal glorification carved on an obelisk of Ramesses II at his Luxor temple¹¹⁸. Ramesses II claims to have been "one who does beneficent things for his father Amon in st-m3Ct"¹¹⁹; Since any royal activity could be interpreted as "beneficent things", and since the cult of Amon is well attested in the region of the Theban Necropolis¹²⁰, there seems to be no room for the doubt expressed by Cerny regarding the identity of that particular st-m3Ct¹²¹.

The exact nature of several stelae and rock inscriptions in hieroglyphic characters from the mining region of Wadi Hammamat cannot be readily defined. Some of them, dating from the reign of Ramesses IV, refer to "commissions of st-m3Ct" for bhn-stone, for the execution of which the owners of the inscriptions had come to that mining region¹²². The connection

117 The few instances of "title + n st-m3Ct" in funerary equipment are mentioned by Černý (Community, 53 nn. 7-8) who remarks: "Of some of them it is more than doubtful that they belong to the staff of the Tomb".

118 Černý, Community, 35 n. 4.

119 See also the epithet of Ramesses IV ṛ 3hw m bhw st-m3Ct, "who does excellent things inside st-m3Ct" in hieroglyphic Ostr. Cairo CG 25202, 1-2 bearing a laudatory inscription of the king (Daressy, Ostraca CGC, pl. 33). Cf. Černý, Community, 67 n. 4.

120 For the various aspects of Amon in mortuary documents of Deir el-Medina see Tosi/Roccati, Stele DM, 223. For general remarks see Otto, Topographie, 44-45.

121 Černý, Community, 35.

122 Ibid., 65 (1)-(4).

between that st-m3Ct and the Theban Necropolis is made evident by the discovery of several administrative documents in Western Thebes mentioning the Hammamat mines, bhn-stone and commissions of st-m3Ct¹²³.

The only explicit document for our purpose in that series is the Turin Papyrus "of the Gold Mines"¹²⁴. The pertinent passage in that papyrus has been quoted by Černý¹²⁵ who has also supplied a better translation than the initial one published by Goyon¹²⁶. In that passage a block of bhn-stone is said to have been deposited in st-m3Ct, r-gs the Ramesseum. It is because of this detail that the region of Western Thebes surrounding the Ramesseum has been frequently claimed as part of st-m3Ct¹²⁷. This was, moreover, one of the main arguments used by Černý in favor of his theory on the "multiple value of the term st-m3Ct"¹²⁸, inasmuch as "the King's tomb in the Valley of the Kings", which he regarded as the most binding rendering of st-m3Ct, could not be defined as being near the Ramesseum by any standards. However, this additional datum containing the phrase "r-gs the Ramesseum" need not restrict the interpretation of st-m3Ct as the Theban Necropolis. R-gs could be used loosely of a site when there was need to provide a rough indication of its vicinity to a prominent landmark¹²⁹. Therefore, the passage may have meant that the block of bhn-stone had been left at a point in st-m3Ct which was nearest to the Ramesseum (the most prominent active cult-center in a radius of some 300 meters). Such a point could have been situated even in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The necessity for specifying "r-gs the Ramesseum" shows that st-m3Ct was so vast a region that a more specific point of reference was required to make the information utilizable.

The suggestion that st-m3Ct was a workshop for cutting stone in the Theban Necropolis is partly due to the combined influence of the data concerning the "commissions of st-m3Ct" for the extraction of bhn-stone on the one hand, and the further information regarding the deposition of an unworked block in st-m3Ct on the other¹³⁰. Even more convincing in this respect

123 Ibid., 66 n.3, 61 and n.2.

124 Ibid., 61-62.

125 Pap. Turin Cat. 1879.

126 Goyon, ASAE 49, 1949, 337-92.

127 Černý, CAH², 6.

128 See above, p. 42.

129 The chapels of Ptah on the way from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Queens are said to be r-gs t3 st nfrw "in the vicinity of the Place of 'Beauty'". Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, Part II, pl. 34.

130 See nn. 122-23 and 124-26, above.

were a few administrative documents originating in p3 hr according to which st-m3Ct was the place to which workmen who had been condemned to "hard labor" were transferred for the purpose of cutting stone¹³¹. One can hardly imagine a spot more antithetical in character to a royal tomb, or even to the august Theban necropolis, than a common penitentiary for cutting stones. It is not surprising, therefore, that at least two distinct meanings have been attributed to the term st-m3Ct, having as their only common feature their location in Western Thebes. Yet, even in this case, the distinction does not seem to be necessary since the documents referring to a penitentiary in st-m3Ct are clearly administrative ones from p3 hr in which the colloquial is used. Consequently, the expression st-m3Ct should be understood in terms of the value attributed to it by the inhabitants of p3 hr in this kind of inscriptions, namely, "the Theban necropolis outside the territory of p3 hr". Thus, the culprits were condemned to abandon their relatively easy and prestigious work in p3 hr for a harder occupation of cutting stones somewhere in the Theban necropolis for projects that were not necessarily connected with the preparation of the royal tomb.

Once it is agreed that this kind of activity did indeed take place outside p3 hr, it becomes relatively easy to interpret the information contained in a passage of Turin Papyrus Cat. 2044¹³² which mentions a group of men of st-m3Ct alongside with other teams from Western Thebes one of which was "workmen of p3 hr". Evidently, this too was a purely administrative document of p3 hr written in the colloquial, hence the distinction.

The remaining administrative documents mentioning st-m3Ct do so as part of titles or in the designation of professions. These are rather rare instances in which workmen of the necropolis, i.e., outsiders in terms of the inhabitants of p3 hr, became involved in matters of p3 hr. Mostly the workmen of p3 hr were self-sufficient and did not require any assistance from outsiders for jobs in which they themselves traditionally excelled.

Sometimes, however, there arose the need to perform some job for which a

131 Černý, Community, 60 nn.3,4. The quotation in n.3 should be Ostr.Berlin 12654 rto.10-11. The ostrakon is now published in Allam, HOUPLATES, pl. 13 and translated in idem, HOUPLATES, 35-38 (no.15). The quotation in n.4 should be Pap.Geneva MAH 15274 vso.3,1. The papyrus was published by Massart (MDAIK 15, 1957, 172 ff.).

132 See above, p.41 n.32.

trained craftsman was required who was not available among the inmates of p3 hr. They would then appeal to craftsmen of st-m3Ct who were presumably available not too far from p3 hr. Whenever such a craftsman was involved, mention of his name or his profession was normally followed in the journal of p3 hr by the designation n st-m3Ct¹³³.

The documents examined thus far represent nearly all the types which are relevant to our discussion. The single rendering "the (Theban) Necropolis" has been shown to be compatible with the various contexts in which the term st-m3Ct occurs, provided that our theory regarding the relationship between p3 hr and st-m3Ct is accepted. Unfortunately, there is little to present in terms of evidence in support of this theory, its main merit being the integration it has brought to the disparate pieces of information.

The adoption of this view reflects necessarily back upon our understanding of several aspects of p3 hr which would have otherwise remained unknown. Since p3 hr is much better documented than st-m3Ct (in diversity if not in the sheer quantity of the documents involved), it is ultimately through further investigation of the characteristics of p3 hr that one may expect to obtain a confirmation or a rejection of this theory on st-m3Ct.

The operative conclusion should be that it is of special importance to differentiate between the various types of documents-"mortuary", "official", "administrative utilizing the colloquial" etc.-before one can provide a satisfactory interpretation of the term st-m3Ct. Of equal importance is the determination of the origin of a given document whether from the administration of p3 hr or from the outside, and in some cases, even small details such as the predilection of the prepositional m st-m3Ct over the genitival n st-m3Ct, or vice versa, should not be disregarded¹³⁴.

133 Černý, Community, 60 n.2. Pap.Turin Pl.105 in the publication by Pleyte and Rossi is Pap.Turin Cat 2002 rto.III. For the passage in question (1.24-25) see now the hieroglyphic transliteration in Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.133.

134 The problem cannot be dismissed by simply pointing out the similarity between the pronunciations of m and n at that period (Černý, Community, 54). This solution cannot account for a certain consistency of use of n st-m3Ct to which Černý himself draws attention later on (ibid., 63); nor can it explain the fact that n st-m3Ct follows the name of the title-bearer whereas m st-m3Ct precedes it. Finally, were Černý's suggestion the real cause for the switch, one would expect to find the same phenomenon with p3 hr, yet I was unable to locate a single example of the combination *"title + Name + m p3 hr".

A few additional questions still remain to be asked. Since we have assumed the existence of "workmen of st-m3Ct" who were active in the Theban Necropolis outside p3 hr, why is it that, save for some rare inscriptions¹³⁵, no "mortuary" documents have been found *in situ* mentioning st-m3Ct as part of a title, outside the territory of p3 hr¹³⁶? In other words, where are the tombs of the "workmen of st-m3Ct" who were not members of p3 hr? There is no ready answer to this question; for all we know, their tombs may be situated in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina in which the uniform use of titles m st-m3Ct would tend to eliminate the difference between workmen of p3 hr and outsiders. One would hesitate however to accept this solution without cogent proof in view of the general attitude towards outsiders in the guarded region of p3 hr¹³⁷ on the one hand, and the evident shortage of disponible space in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, leading to strict regulations regarding the ownership of tombs there¹³⁸, on the other. Chances are that, unlike the inhabitants of p3 hr, the workmen of st-m3Ct did not have a permanent common residential area of their own. Consequently, the ordinary workmen were probably inhabitants of the cultivated area who, after the day's or the week's work, could go back home to their families for the night or the weekend. The supervisors and title-bearers in st-m3Ct belonged, presumably, to some official administration, whether religious or secular, which maintained activities and accommodations in Western Thebes. In the tombs of the latter, one would expect to encounter titles reflecting their connection with those administrative units rather than proclaiming their bearers to be "workmen of st-m3Ct". As for the simple workmen, their status could not have enabled them to prepare mortuary inscriptions on really durable material, or to build for themselves tombs with any chance to survive. When one comes to think of it, the surprising fact is not the almost total loss of the mortuary inscriptions of these workmen, but rather the extraordinary quality and state of preservation of the tombs at Deir el-Medina.

135 Cf. Tomb No.206 of Scribe Inpw-m-hb in Khokha. PM I/1,305-06; Černý, Rev.Eg.anc. 2,1929,200 n.2. For this scribe cf.Černý,Community,198-99; Eyre,JEA 66,1980,119.

136 Clère,BIFA0 28,1929,173 n.6. What really counts are the tomb inscriptions themselves since other transferable material among the "mortuary" equipment could have been moved in antiquity.

137 On the measures which were adopted for the isolation of p3 hr from the outside see below, pp.171ff.

138 Cf.Blackman,JEA 12,1926,181.

A not unrelated problem is the one regarding the identity of the tomb-owners in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina. Černý has compared the list of titles n p3 hr obtained from the hieratic material of the community of workmen, to the list of titles m st-m3^Ct assembled mainly from documents of "mortuary" character¹³⁹. The conclusion was that apart from the title sdm-c¹⁴⁰, about which we shall have more to say later on¹⁴¹, there are a few other titles which figure only in the combination with m st-m3^Ct¹⁴². Without going into details regarding the functions covered by these titles which are seemingly unparalleled in p3 hr, and before we look for an explanation to the discrepancy, the following point, which was not sufficiently stressed by Černý¹⁴³, should be made clear. A comparison of titles of this sort can be misleading on two accounts; On the one hand, it may call to our attention "discrepancies" which do not really exist, and on the other, it may allow genuine incompatibilities to pass undetected.

The "mortuary" documents have to be formal and complete to be effective; conversely, the administrative ones, and particularly the ones that were intended for local use, favored the style of abbreviations and of colloquialisms. The addition n p3 hr, for instance, was commonly dispensed with since it was clear to all that the officials active in p3 hr were officials of p3 hr unless differently stated. Thus, it should be sufficient for a title to figure in an administrative document of p3 hr, even without the addition n p3 hr, to be an acceptable parallel to an occurrence of the same title m st-m3^Ct, in a "mortuary" document. Seen in this light, the discrepancies between the two lists become negligible¹⁴⁴.

139 Černý, Community, 44-47.

140 Ibid., 45 (No. 12).

141 See below, pp. 61-62.

142 Nos. 8-24 in Černý, Community, 45-47.

143 He speaks of simple workmen of p3 hr who bore titles that were not recognized officially by the administration, and therefore could not figure as title-bearers n p3 hr in the documents (ibid., 45f.).

144 What remains is essentially nos. 8-11 (ibid., 45). No. 10 (imy-r nfrw) is only attested in Dynasty XXI and is therefore irrelevant to our considerations; The reference to Bankes Stela No. 10 for the title imy-r pr-hd (ibid., No. 9) should be corrected into Bankes Stela No. 4. For the Group statue Berlin 6910 (mentioned in Nos. 8, 9, 11) see Roeder (ed.), Berlin Inschriften II, 63ff; For Turin Stela Cat. 1602 (No. 8) see now Tosi/Roccati, Stela DM, 81-82, 280 (N. 50047). It all amounts to three items belonging to two individuals.

The case of the scribes of p3 hr is an example of the opposite situation; Because of a relative abundance of scribes in the community of workmen, the hieratic, administrative documents make it a point to differentiate between the official scribe in active duty and the others, by adding n p3 hr only to the title of the former¹⁴⁵. Both kinds of scribes, however, become sš m st-m3Ct in their "mortuary" documents. The parallelism between sš n p3 hr and sš m st-m3Ct in Černý's lists may allow the double use of the term sš to pass unnoticed, a fact which is bound to have serious consequences as will be shown in the next chapter.

Our last topic in the subject of st-m3Ct deals with the interpretation of the formula sdm-Cš (n nb-t3wy) m st-m3Ct. This formula is by far the most frequently employed title in the "mortuary" documents of Deir el-Medina. In fact it is so widespread that one gets the impression that it had become a cliché of exclusive use by the inhabitants of p3 hr, and that consequently it had lost much of the literal meaning it must have possessed when originally adopted, having probably come to mean little more than "male member of the community of workmen". One indication to this effect is the extremely abbreviated writings of the formula some of which can be found in otherwise carefully written inscriptions¹⁴⁶; another is the very frequent omission of the recipient of the service, i.e., the omission of the specification n nb t3wy, despite the fact that a bare sdm-Cš is just as undefined as imy-r, rmt-ist or hm ntr tpy without their defining complements¹⁴⁷. This very abundance of occurrences of the formula sdm-Cš m st-m3Ct in tombs, stelae and other monuments, most of which belonged to members of the more privileged families in the community of Deir el-Medina,

145 Among the official scribes of p3 hr there existed an even subtler subdivision: Those who acted from within the territory of p3 hr, lived in Deir el-Medina and were buried there (these scribes were sometimes called sš n p3 hr n hnw) and those who served p3 hr from the outside. If one may judge from the positive evidence regarding one of the latter, Inpw-m-hb, whose tomb was in Khokha (see n.135, above) and the negative one of the lack of burials of such scribes among the tombs of Deir el-Medina, we may conclude that outsiders, even if active in the service of p3 hr, were not admissible in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina. In their mortuary inscriptions, however, they would nonetheless define themselves m st-m3Ct or even n st-m3Ct.

146 Cf. Černý, Community, 54 n.2.

147 The regular addition m st-m3Ct cannot replace the function of the recipient. One is a servant or follower of some god, king, official or institution. For various uses of the title sdm-Cš see Gauthier, BIFAO 13, 1917, 162-68.

should have warned Černý against its interpretation as the hieroglyphic equivalent of rmt-īst n p3 hr of the hieratic documents¹⁴⁸. The latter was, as we have seen¹⁴⁹, the lowest-ranking title among those of the crew-members of p3 hr and was employed mostly when its bearer had no better title to boast of.

If one regards sdm-Cš (n Nb-t3wy) m st-m3Ct as being an attribute common to all male inhabitants of p3 hr, independently of their functional titles, one may save oneself unnecessary trouble. Particularly, one may be spared the necessity to account for would-be degradations of title-bearers in the advanced years of their lives just because they are sdmw-Cš in their "mortuary" documents¹⁵⁰.

The recipient of the services of the sdm-Cš in Deir el-Medina was Nb-t3wy "the lord of the Two Lands"¹⁵¹. In some examples the name of the divinized king Amenophis I is mentioned instead of Nb-t3wy¹⁵². Whether the two expressions should be regarded as being equivalent or not will be shown to be of little practical importance. The only acceptable alternative interpretation of Nb-t3wy can be "the king"¹⁵³. Since, however, Nb-t3wy does not alternate in those inscriptions with the royal cartouche or any other indication that a specific king (the living one at the time of inscription or any one of his ancestors other than, possibly, Amenophis I) was intended, Nb-t3wy should be understood as being an epithet by which the abstract notion of royalty was symbolized.

A specific cult of dead kings of the New Kingdom existed in Deir el-Medina¹⁵⁴ as might be expected from a community whose members were there to serve the kings at their death and take care of their tombs forever. A cult of a different type was being held in favor of the royal ancestors in the region of the Royal Mortuary Temples¹⁵⁵. The latter cult was the official one

148 Černý, Community, 43.

149 See p.16 (6).

150 Černý was obliged to postulate degradations of this nature in the following cases: Community, 127 (P3-šd), 128 (Hwy), 153 (H3wy), 154 (Tws3), 300 (īnhr-ḥc), 305 (P3-nb), 307 n.5 (Nhw-m-Mwt); Stelae Bankes, no.2 (K3h3). Needless to add that relative dating of documents as a consequence of such considerations should be rejected.

151 Černý, Community, 47ff.

152 Ibid., 49 No.25A (according to Černý's convention the number of the paragraph in question should be 26A).

153 Ibid., 47.

154 Cf. Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1930, Part III, 38-40.

155 Cf. Massart, MDAIK 15, 1957, 183.

and was attended by gods and personalities who would come to Western Thebes for that specific purpose. The cult of the workmen, however, was the only one performed for the kings in st-m3Ct. In reality, the workmen considered themselves servants sgmw-Cš of the kings (living or dead) in st-m3Ct. This consideration was common to all members of p3 hr and had nothing to do with the actual duties or titles of the individuals.

The divinized king Amenophis I, who was so fervently worshipped by the people of p3 hr¹⁵⁶ was, according to this view, a symbol for dead as well as living royalty. It was a palpable substitute for the abstract notion Nb-t3wy. His mother, the god's wife Ahmose Nefertari, was at the same time the more palpable substitute, for purposes of the cult of the dead, for the royal relatives who were equally being served by the workmen at the Valley of the Queens. In a way, the very activity of those workmen in the royal valleys was an act of piety towards the divinized mother and son, performed consistently and exclusively by these people. It is not surprising, then, that "servant of the lord of the Two Lands in st-m3Ct" would combine the essence of both their actual occupations and their religious individuality in their inscriptions for the afterlife.

156 For documents pertaining to the cult of Amenophis I in Western Thebes and particularly in Deir el-Medina see: Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, 159ff.; Wente, JNES 22, 1963, 30ff.; Helck, ZAS 83, 1957, 89f.; H. Brunner, ZAS 83, 1957, 82f.; J. R. Harris, SAK 2, 1975, 96-97; Černý, "Egyptian Oracles" in Parker, Saite Oracle, Chapter VI; Sadek, GM 36, 1979, 51ff.; and lately Schmitz, Amenophis I; Altenmüller, MDAIK 37, 1981, 1-7; Gitton, BiOr 37, 1980, 317-19; Stadelmann, MDAIK 32, 1976, 213-14; Van Siclen, Serapis 6, 1980, 183ff.

CHAPTER III: HNW, BNR, HN²I, RWDW, HWTYW,
SŠ N P3 HR, HRY SŠW KDW, MRYT

Each one of the terms hnw, bnr, hn²i, mryt, rdw, hwtyw, sš n p3 hr, hry sšw kdw occurs connected in some way or another with titles or functions of the principal office holders in the community of workmen, or with specific toponyms of the region some of which will be studied in subsequent chapters. The terms will be discussed here only to the extent that might clarify, as much as possible, the connection between them and the title, the function or the toponym.

For people whose entire existence was centered around the region of p3 hr, it would be natural to qualify anything within that region as hny or n hnw, as opposed to bnr, nbnr. One should, however, distinguish carefully between the qualifiers n hnw and n p3 hr, since p3 hr was not only a term designating a specific region but was primarily the name of a specific administration¹. Any component of that administration which was not actually situated in or did not originate from the area of p3 hr was n bnr, but nonetheless n p3 hr.

Such were, for instance, the smdt n bnr², which was at the same time smdt n p3 hr³; the rdw n bnr⁴, who were nonetheless rdw n p3 hr⁵, the knbt

1 On this subject see above, p.16.

2 For this term see for instance Černý, Community, 183ff. (in particular p.184 n.10), cf. below, pp.112-113.

3 Ibid., 183 n.3, 184 n.9. Peet's remark that smdt n p3 hr could be applied to the totality of the workmen, to be further subdivided into t3 1st and smdt n bnr (Peet, GTR, 14-15) seems to be correct. For various views on the ambiguous passage of Ostr. Cairo CG 25581 vso. in this respect cf. Černý, Community, 183 and n.2; Eyre, JEA 66, 1980, 118 with n.5; below, p.181 n.32.

4 Černý, Community, 255 n.7.

5 Černý's subdivision of the rdw is inaccurate. According to him the rdw n p3 hr is equivalent to rdw n hnw whom he identifies with the captains of the crew, better known as hwtyw (Černý, Community, 255). The rdw n bnr, on the other hand, he considers to be outsiders who were important officials in the main departments of the central administration such as the vizierate, the granary, the treasury of Pharaoh and the treasury of Amon (ibid., 255-56, 259). Among these "other institutions" which did not belong to "the Tomb" he includes "(the) riverbank" (ibid., 255 and n.6) to which belonged the rdw n mryt.

In the course of this chapter it will be claimed that the term rdw n p3 hr included both the rdw n hnw, which was indeed a rarely used synonym of hwtyw/hntyw, and the rdw n bnr, also called rdw n mryt, who were full-time officials of p3 hr but did not reside in Deir el-Medina. Comparison of Ostr. DM 114 rto.6-7 (Černý, Ostraca DM II, p.1) with Ostr. Gardiner 13 rto.5-6 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, p.1.30) can illustrate the inclusion of the rdw n bnr among the rdw n p3 hr. Cf. also Černý,

bnr⁶ which nonetheless served the inhabitants of p3 hr and could at times become part of t3 knbt p3 hr⁷. Accordingly, a hypothetical *p3 hr n bnr would be meaningless as a topographical term and by the same token *p3 hr n hnw would be redundant. It is therefore in a somewhat different light than that proposed by Thomas⁸, that we have to examine titles of the pattern sš n p3 hr n hnw⁹.

Thomas has taken sš as the basic title, and n p3 hr n hnw as a topographical qualifier, which she sought to interpret¹⁰. Instead, one should take sš n p3 hr as the basic title and n hnw as a topographical qualifier which was needed in order to distinguish this scribe from additional sšw n p3 hr who held office at the same time, but were n bnr, being members of the rdw n bnr¹¹. In other words, instead of Thomas' sš (n p3 hr n hnw) as a counter-

Community, 237 n.3 with Ostr. Oriental Institute Chicago 12073 rto.8-9 (Černý/Gardiner, H0, pl. 77).

6 Ostr. Berlin 14214 vso.2 (=Allam, Houp Plates, pl. 19).

7 Černý, Community, 17. For a brief discussion of some aspects of the knbt of p3 hr see below, pp. 81-82. For an example of the term t3 knbt p3 hr see Ostr. Cairo CG 25553 rto.2 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 42*).

8 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 57ff.

9 Ibid., 58 example Eb.

10 Thomas has suggested p3 hr n hnw was the Biban el-Moluk in contrast to the Valley of the Queens since the latter is less secluded, and to other private necropoleis which are exposed (ibid., 59-61). She further distinguishes between sš n p3 hr n hnw who was the scribe of the Valley of the Kings and sš n p3 hr who was the scribe of the King's tomb (ibid., 60-61). These distinctions seem rather improbable. On the one hand, in order to sustain the translation of sš n p3 hr hni/n hnw as "scribe of the Biban el Moluk (lit. scribe of the Necropolis of forbidden access/ of the Inside)", Thomas assumes that p3 hr is "the Theban Necropolis". On the other hand, in order to justify the translation of sš n p3 hr as "scribe of the King's tomb", she assumes that p3 hr is "the King's tomb". If one accepts this theory, one is led to the inescapable conclusion that by the addition of the epithet hni/n hnw, the meaning of p3 hr is not restricted, as one might expect, but is radically changed from "King's Tomb" to "the Valley of the Kings" which is anything but a restriction.

Furthermore, based upon this logic, Thomas suggests that the sš n p3 hr is a subordinate of the sš n p3 hr n hnw, not because p3 hr n hnw is more important than p3 hr, but because p3 hr is included in p3 hr n hnw! (ibid., 60-61). We have suggested that p3 hr n hnw as a topographical term is fully equivalent to the bare p3 hr. Besides, if p3 hr n hnw were indeed the Valley of the Kings, one would expect it to occur far more frequently and, what is more important, as an absolute toponym (not forming part of a title) as well.

11 On the composition of the rdw n bnr see below, pp. 77-78.

part of a potential *sš (n p3 hr n bnr)¹², the texts refer to a sš n p3 hr (n hnw)¹³ as a counterpart of a sš n p3 hr (n bnr).

The epithet hni in sš n p3 hr hni has nothing to do with the scribe, but describes p3 hr. Although its significance is far from being clear¹⁴, the evidence of Theban graffito 1860a¹⁵ shows that it was not a permanent quality of p3 hr, for on a certain date the high officials hni-ed p3 hr¹⁶.

As far as the title of the scribe is concerned, sš n p3 hr hni is equivalent to sš n p3 hr. Therefore the complex version sš n p3 hr hni (n) hnw¹⁷ should be equivalent to sš n p3 hr n hnw. In this complex version there are two qualifiers: hni qualifies p3 hr and n hnw the sš n p3 hr hni. In sš n p3 hr n hnw hni¹⁸, hni qualifies the noun hnw which, as we have proposed, is equivalent to the geographical aspect of p3 hr.

Thomas has listed six different combinations of titles containing the terms n hnw or hni or both. They should be translated as follows:

- a) sš n p3 hr n hnw¹⁹ - "Scribe of p3 hr of the inside".
- b) sš-nswt n hnw²⁰ - "Royal scribe of the inside".
- c) sš n p3 hr hni²¹ - "Scribe of the guarded (protected, restrained, confined, of forbidden access, closed etc.) p3 hr".
- d) p3 III hntyw n p3 hr hni²² - "The three captains of the guarded p3 hr".

12 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 62-63.

13 Or sš-nswt (n hnw) cf. ibid., 58 example A.

14 For various translations and interpretations see ibid., 59, 61-63; idem, RNT, 66 n.13. See also below, pp. 182-83.

15 Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 21; Bierbrier, JEA 58, 1972, 195ff.; Bell, Serapis 6, 1980, 7ff.

16 Following Černý's identification of p3 hr as the king's tomb, this graffito has been hitherto interpreted as referring to the closing up of that tomb. Cf. CEDAE, Graffiti I, p. XVI; Bierbrier, op.cit., 195; Bell, op.cit., 15.

17 According to Thomas this was the normal version, and the simpler one an abbreviation (JEA 49, 1963, 59).

18 Ibid., 58 examples Ea, F.

19 Ibid., 58 example Eb n.7.

20 Ibid., example A n.2.

21 Ibid., examples B, C nn.3, 4; Add: Ostr. Berlin 10645 + '46 vso.5 sš 'Imn-nht n p3 hr hni /// (Allam, HOUPI Plates, Pl.7).

22 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 58 example G n.9. The papyrus in question is probably Pap. DM 29 which is also mentioned in Černý, Community, 232 n.13, 234 n.2, 308 n.2. The use of hntyw instead of hwtyw and the mention of Foreman Nḥw-m-Mwt (ibid., 308 n.2) suggest a date between Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. (For the dating value of these elements cf. ibid., 308-09; p.76, below).

- e) sš n p3 hr hñi (n) hnw²³- "Scribe of the guarded p3 hr, of the inside".
 f) sš n p3 hr n hnw hñi²⁴- "Scribe of p3 hr, of the guarded inside".

To these should be added:

- g) sš kdw n p3 hr hñi- "Draughtsman of the guarded p3 hr". (Theban graf-
 fito 1806,5-6²⁵; Ostr.Michaelides 79,rto.1²⁶).
 h) rmtw p3 hr n hnw- "People of p3 hr, of the inside". (Ostr.IFAO 868²⁷).

Had Thomas been correct in her interpretation of the terms, one would have expected p3 hr hñi (n) hnw / n hnw hñi to turn up not only uniquely in titles for which the discrimination between hnw and bnr was of importance, but also elsewhere²⁸. This, however, is not the case.

Since rmtw p3 hr, "people of p3 hr" was a general designation of those who belonged to that particular administration²⁹, the addition n hnw in item h) specifies the ones residing in the territory of p3 hr and implies that other members of that administration resided elsewhere. A similar example makes mention of rmtw m p3 dmñt "people in the village (Deir el-Medina)" as against rmtw bnr "outsiders"³⁰. Rmtw m p3 dmñt is in fact equivalent to rmtw p3 hr n hnw of item h).

An important conclusion that may be derived from Thomas' list is that the

23 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 58 example D n.5.

24 Ibid., examples Ea, F nn.6, 8.

25 Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 17.

26 Goedicke/Wente, Ostraka Michaelides, pl.42. I would prefer to fill in the lacuna before the name Hr-Mnw with the title sš-kdw instead of sš that was proposed by the publishers because we can now point at a parallel example of a draughtsman n p3 hr hñi (cf. previous note), and particularly because we have no evidence for a scribe Hr-Mnw in the documents of the period whereas there are numerous mentions of a draughtsman of that name. See Bogoslovsky, ZAS 107, 1980, 105.

27 Černý, BIFA 72, 1972, 58 No.62.

28 Significantly, the captains of item d) and the draughtsmen of item g), who did not have exact counterparts belonging to p3 hr and acting from the outside, are not termed n hnw.

29 Černý, Community, 99 n.8.

30 Idem, BIFA 40, 1941, 136(k), (l). I am rather hesitant to accept Černý's explanation regarding the use of m rather than n in rmt(w) m p3 dñt. The genitival n precedes the definite article p3 in numerous examples of the combination n p3 hr without changing into m. A possible exception that might strengthen Černý's view is imy iry.tw t3 knbt m p3 hr (Ostr.Michaelides 47 rto.3 = Goedicke/Wente, op.cit., pl.50). There again, however, holding the knbt in p3 hr makes as good sense as holding the knbt of p3 hr.

only specific title of the administration of the Royal Necropolis that can admit the addition n hnw is sš n p3 hr. Since we know that scribes were by no means the only title-bearers of p3 hr³¹ we have to admit that the addition n hnw was meant to mark apart one group of scribes of p3 hr who acted from the inside, and were therefore among the rmtw p3 hr n hnw, from another whose activity was concentrated in the outside. Unfortunately, the scribes of p3 hr of the outside are rarely mentioned by their full title which ought to contain the expression n bnr. The following two examples: Sš n p3 hr n n3 smdt bnr³² "scribe of p3 hr of the conscripted labor of the outside" and p3 sš 2 n p3 hr n bnr³³ "the two scribes of p3 hr of the outside" are all the specific mentions by title to members of that group I was able to find. In most cases, scribes who can be shown by their activities to be n bnr do not bear any distinctive addition to their basic title sš or sš n p3 hr³⁴. At times they are not mentioned separately, but are nevertheless included in the collective rwdw (n bnr) "inspectors (of the outside)" as we have already proposed.

In one text, the rwdw n bnr are accompanied by the three hwtwyw n hnw³⁵. The latter title, also encountered as hwtwyw, hwtwyw n p3 hr³⁶ and rwdw n hnw³⁷, has been studied by Černý in detail³⁸ and has been shown to be a collective expression designating the highest resident officials in Deir el-Medina. The hwtwyw (n p3 hr), "captains (of the Tomb)" according to Černý, were responsible for the execution of the commissions of p3 hr, the maintenance

31 See p.15, above.

32 Ostr.Michaelides 66 rto.6. See Goedicke/Wente, op.cit., pl.43 (the heading of that plate should be corrected into "Nr.66 rt. Brief" following the indications on p.16; the verso of the ostrakon is to be found in pl.30).

33 Pap.Turin Cat.2083/178 + 2082/177 rto.18 (=Giornale dell'ano 17-B rto. 1,18) Botti/Peet, Giornale, pl.15.

34 The most frequently attested scribe "of the outside" is Hrī (cf. Černý, Community, 216ff.); he is nowhere mentioned as a resident of Deir el-Medina or as one who was in daily contact with the workmen, or as a member of the triad of resident captains of the crew, there are no graffiti that can be securely attributed to him, his main occupation was the issuing of provisions to the community rather than accepting them, no house or tomb of his were discovered at Deir el-Medina; these, as we shall see, were the salient characteristics of the members of p3 hr of the outside.

35 Ostr.Oriental Institute Chicago 12073 rto.8-9 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 77).

36 See Černý, Community, 231ff.

37 Ibid., 255.

38 Ibid., 231-43.

of living conditions, law and order among the workmen and their families as well as the redaction of whatever administrative documents were required by the Egyptian bureaucracy. The number of the captains was normally three³⁹.

The rw dw n bnr, on the other hand, were suppliers of provisions⁴⁰, inspectors⁴¹, advisors⁴², members of knbt⁴³ and liaison officers between the central administration and the local government of p3 hr⁴⁴. They obviously acted from outside the territory of p3 hr⁴⁵, but still from Western Thebes⁴⁶.

The best suited region from which these inspectors could conduct their business efficiently was the plain of the royal mortuary temples, and more specifically its southern part which is limited by the Ramesseum in the north and the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet-Habu, in the

39 Ibid., 234. See also n.35, above. For cases of more than three hwtwy see below, pp.73-4.

40 Černý, Community, 258 nn.7-10.

41 Ibid., 257 n.2.

42 Ibid., 257 n.3.

43 Ibid., 256 n.6.

44 Cf. Ostr. Cairo CG 25504 vso.II, 1-2 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 3*).

45 In most cases in which the inspectors of the outside, as a group or as individuals, are involved, the record of their intervention is preceded by some verb of motion indicating that either the inspectors had come to Deir el-Medina or some member of the inside had come out to them. Pap. DM 27 rto.7-8: pw.ī pr īw.ī dd (n) n3 wrw, "I went out and told the officials" (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.98); Ostr. Cairo CG 25504 vso.II, 1-2: Spr īr.n sš īnpw-m-hb, sš P3-sr, hry-md3yw Nht-Mnw, hry-md3yw Hrī m dd.. "Scribe īnpw-m-hb, Scribe P3-sr, Chief of Police Nht-Mnw and Chief of Police Hrī arrived saying:..." (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 3*); Ostr. Cairo CG 25264, 4: My n.n r mryt hr.w m n3 wrw, "Come to us to mryt, said the officials" (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.30). For the meaning of mryt see below.

46 Černý, who has identified the rw dw n bnr with various officials of the central administration, has concluded that their offices were in Eastern Thebes (Černý, Community, 259; 255-56). Though he may be right in locating these offices in Eastern Thebes, the officials he had in mind were not the ones that are included in the group of rw dw/hryw/wrw (but not wrw C3yw) (n bnr). In his conclusions (p.259) Černý shows clearly that there were two levels in the commanding hierarchy of p3 hr: a) the (three) hwtwy who were the "resident captains" and b) the rw dw n bnr who were, according to him, administrators of various offices for whom p3 hr was only one out of many responsibilities, and who had their office in Eastern Thebes. In fact, administrators of various offices did come into occasional contact with the workmen, but were not the rw dw n bnr of the documents. The rw dw n bnr were an intermediate level of officials who were members of p3 hr but acted from outside its territory. That their office was in Western Thebes can be proved only by circumstantial evidence. Whenever one had to cross the river in order to reach his destination one usually employed the verb d3ī (for religious

south, this strip being the center of administrative activity in Western Thebes during the Ramesside Period⁴⁷. The number of the rw dw n bnr was usually four⁴⁸.

In the light of this information we may conclude that the grouping together of the four rw dw n bnr and the three hwt yw n hnw in the abovementioned text⁴⁹ was actually a combined appearance of the members of both departments of the administration of p3 hr, those of the "local" administration (n hnw), and those of the "regional" administration (n bnr). The terms "local" and "regional" will be henceforward adopted for the designation of these bodies.

The conclusions that have been obtained thus far can be now utilized for the elucidation of several debated questions regarding the scribes of p3 hr.

Unlike most other title bearers, scribes occur in Deir el-Medina documents without necessarily belonging to that specific administration, namely p3 hr. On the other hand, the title sš n p3 hr, which might have been a simple criterion for identifying those scribes who did belong to the community, is too restrictive because sš n p3 hr was more than a simple indication that a scribe was affiliated to that community; it was applied to a very limited number of people at a single time, those who happened to hold a specific administrative office in the community. Sšw n p3 hr were, in a way, the senior scribes. Apart from them, there were others, mostly offsprings of Deir el-Medina families, who had obtained scribal training but had not yet been appointed to official posts. In addition, there were the draughtsmen, who were frequently mentioned as scribes⁵⁰. Černý's discussion

water-crossings - hn?) instead of the regular verbs of motion; such crossings are significantly absent from documents mentioning the comings and goings of the rw dw or to them prior to the last two reigns of the dynasty at which time conditions had changed drastically (cf. below, n.90).

47 Kees, *Priestertum*, 143.

48 Cf. Černý, *Community*, 256 n.8.

49 Cf. note 35.

50 Černý, *Community*, 191, distinguishes between administrative and non-administrative (technical) functions of scribes. According to this division, sš n p3 hr belongs to the first category and sš-ḳdw to the second since his work is technical and, in a sense, he is one of the workmen. Whenever the title sš occurs without further specification, Černý tends to supply the "missing" complement according to various considerations and thus categorize its owner (ibid., itemized list of scribes, pp. 192-222 passim.). This practice turns out to be correct in most instances, especially when sš is written instead of sš-ḳdw (ibid., 192-93); it may

of scribes⁵¹ and especially, his itemized list and chronological table will serve as a handy reference for the following remarks. Two points, however, should be seen in a slightly different light:

a. Sš n p3 hr is not identical to sš m st-m3Ct⁵². The issue has been treated in the last chapter⁵³, and it is with the scribes that the difference between the terms is most pronouncedly felt. Thus, anyone from the above-mentioned categories of scribes could be qualified in his "mortuary" monuments as sš m st-m3Ct⁵⁴, whereas the title sš n p3 hr was reserved for the senior scribes, as stated above.

b. The difference between sš and sš-kdw should not be overemphasized. Draughtsmanship should be regarded as either a specialization or a stage of apprenticeship of a scribe⁵⁵. Thus, instead of accusing draughtsmen who call themselves sš of unwarranted self-glorification⁵⁶, one should rather examine the context and see whether the lack of precision is not justifiable.

Černý has argued for a pattern of two "scribes of the tomb"⁵⁷, but his chronological list of scribes, which is so entitled, mentions more than two people for any given period. Part of the discrepancy stems from the fact that in Černý's opinion sš m st-m3Ct was equivalent to sš n p3 hr. However,

lead however to mistakes if sš is completed to or understood as sš n p3 hr when such addition is not absolutely warranted (see the introductory words before the itemized list in *ibid.*, 193). One should allow for the possibility of having sš stand for hry sšw-kdw which is an administrative function different from sš n p3 hr, or for those instances in which trained or apprentice scribes would be doing odd jobs at p3 hr, possibly as assistants to the sš n p3 hr, waiting for an official nomination. The draughtsmen of the Theban Necropolis have been recently discussed in a separate article Bogoslovsky, *ZAS* 107, 1980, 89-116.

51 Černý, *Community*, 191-230 and Appendices B-D.

52 *Ibid.*, 191.

53 See above, p. 61.

54 See for instance: Nos. 3, 6C, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 31, 34, 35, 40, 42, 43, 47, 61, 62 (Černý, *ibid.*, list) for examples of scribes who occur as sš m st-m3Ct but were not sš n p3 hr.

55 See also Bogoslovsky, *op.cit.*, 94.

56 In principle Černý agrees that a draughtsman was, after all, a scribe (*Community*, 191-92) but some of his remarks show that he was not convinced that they could bear the title sš freely. Cf. *ibid.*, 352, 192 nn. 9, 10.

57 His statement on this subject (*ibid.*, 191) is somewhat vague. Should one understand that he implies that there could be any even number of "scribes of the Tomb" at one time even before the end of the Ramesside Period? For other views on this matter see Eyre, *Glimpses*, 84, 90 n. 16; *idem*, *JEA* 66, 1980, 118-19 and n. 8 on p. 118.

even after all scribes but those who bear the title sš n p3 hr are discarded from the list there still remain several instances of more than two people serving as sš n p3 hr simultaneously. The significance of this observation will be subsequently discussed in further detail.

Since knowledge of the wequence and chronology of the sšw n p3 hr is particularly important in providing information for the dating of documents, they being the only scribes who are conveniently tagged and important enough to be explicitly mentioned in numerous documents, it is with their functions that we are primarily interested. A much debated question is that of the wages of a sš n p3 hr⁵⁸. Several lists of wages show clearly that the scribe's allowance was half that of a foreman⁵⁹. It has been always assumed that the scribe in question was a sš n p3 hr⁶⁰. That this indeed was the case will be demonstrated below. There are two intriguing facts about the scribe's wages. a) They are unexpectedly low considering the prestige of the scribes among the workmen. b) The numerical ratio between the wages of a scribe and those of a foreman turns out to be 1 to 2. Janssen's proposition⁶¹ to regard the scribe's wages of any one "side" as only half his overall allowance seems to be the only practical solution to this problem. Thus, one and the same scribe was, for some reason, the recipient in both "sides", and therefore his combined wages for both sides equalled those of the foremen⁶².

58 For a recent discussion and bibliography see Janssen, CPRP, 461ff.

59 Ibid., 461 n.33.

60 There never was any question about that, since any scribe who belonged to the community and was not a draughtsman was automatically taken to be sš n p3 hr.

61 Janssen, CPRP, 461.

62 Ostr. Gardiner 57 (Černý/Gardiner, H0, pl. 51, 1), while not exactly a list of grain distribution, shows clearly that Janssen's assumption was correct. The recto of this document bears a list of 31 workmen of p3 hr belonging to the "right side" of the crew. The list is headed by the foreman of the "right side" P3-nb and sš B3y. Opposite each name is written the number "1", except for that of the foreman which has the number "2" against it, and that of the scribe in whose case a number "2" has been corrected into "1". The verso has a parallel list containing the names of 30 workmen of the "left side" with "1" opposite each name. The list is headed by the name of the foreman H3y of the "left side" with a number "2", and, once again the name of sš B3y with "1". Whether the numbers were absolute amounts of an unmentioned product or merely indicate proportions is immaterial to our purpose. These lists show clearly that one scribe served both sides and that he partook of the distributions equally in each, his total allowance being equal to that of the foremen. The original tendency of the compiler of the list (who may have been B3y himself) to assign to the scribe his full allowance of two units under the "right side" was subsequently corrected.

This leads us to the problem of the hwtwy/hntwy⁶³. The Turin Strike Papyrus provides us with a direct proof that the three hwtwy included the two foremen and a sš n p3 hr. Two entries in that papyrus, one on the recto⁶⁴ and the other on the verso⁶⁵, bear the same date in year 29 (of Ramesses III) and relate the same incident, namely the passing of t3 5 ?nbt by the entire crew of workmen on strike, their stationing at the back of a temple of Tuthmosis III, and the coming of the officials of the local administration of p3 hr to persuade them to return to their village⁶⁶. The list of officials as given in the passage of the recto is composed of p3 sš n p3 hr hn?, p3 C3 n ?st 2, p3 ?dnw 2(?), p3 3tw 2 "the scribe of the guarded p3 hr, the two foremen, the (two)⁶⁷ deputies and the two 3tw officials". The one of the verso mentions the same officials in the same order, only instead of the scribe and the two foremen it has p3 III hwtwy "the three captains"⁶⁸. Since the wages of each of the three hwtwy are always found to be equal⁶⁹, the single scribe of Janssen's proposition was indeed a sš n p3 hr⁷⁰. There remain the problems presented by those instances in which four hwtwy, or more, are mentioned⁷¹, and a few specific documents which tend to be regarded as exceptional⁷². Černý has stated, without further elaboration, that the fourth member of the hwtwy was a hry sšw kdw "chief of the draughtsmen"⁷³. This will be shown to be both logical and exact⁷⁴.

63 See Černý, *Community*, 231-243; Wente/Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 238-39.

64 Pap. Turin Cat. 1880 (Turin Strike Papyrus) rto. 1, 1-4 (Gardiner, *RAD*, 52.14-53.1).

65 Vso. 3, 1 (ibid., 49.15-18).

66 A third mention of that same incident is in Ostr. Cairo CG 25530, 1-3 (Černý, *Ostraca CGC*, 30*).

67 For this numeral see below, p. 121 n. 12.

68 For additional, less explicit, examples see Ostr. Berlin 12654 vso. 6-7 (Allam, *HOUF Plates*, pl. 15); Ostr. Cairo CG 25800 I. 1, 3; II. 1, 3 (Černý, *Ostraca CGC*, 114*); here rdw is used instead of hwtwy.

69 Janssen, *CPRP*, 461 n. 37.

70 See also Černý, *Community*, 236.

71 Janssen, *CPRP*, 461 n. 38; Černý, *Community*, 239 n. 6, 237 nn. 5-7.

72 See for instance Janssen, *CPRP*, 461 n. 33; Wente/Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 239 and nn. 142-43. These documents are not exceptional as will be shown below.

73 Černý, *Community*, 236-37; but see ibid., 256-57.

74 Confronted with an example mentioning two foremen and two scribes, Imn-nht and Hri-šri both of whom are known to have served as scribes of p3 hr, Eyre claims that "the problem of the relationships between the numerous contemporary 'Scribes of the Tomb' is far from its solution" (Eyre, *Glimpses*, 90 n. 16). Even though the two scribes in question are known to have served as scribes of p3 hr of the inside, Hri-šri having followed his father Imn-nht in that post, Eyre cautiously refrains from assuming that a second scribe of p3 hr could be regarded as the fourth

Whenever the wages of four hwtwy are recorded, the recipients are mentioned either as a group of four, in which case they receive equal wages, or divided into the two "sides", a foreman and a scribe in each, and all four still receive equal shares.

A schematic summary of the four main possibilities for recording the distribution of wages to the captains of the crew is given below (the figures indicate proportions, not absolute amounts).

A	3	<u>hwtwy</u>	1	1	1	ex. Ostr.DM 141,1 Ostr.DM 180 vso.	
B	Foreman	1	Foreman	1		ex. Turin Strike Pap.,vso.3, 24-30 (RAD,50).	
	Scribe	$\frac{1}{2}$	Scribe	$\frac{1}{2}$			
C	4	<u>hwtwy</u>	1	1	1	1	ex. Ostr.DM 381 rto.3.
D	Foreman	1	Foreman	1			ex. Pap.Turin Cat.2071/224 + 1960 vso.1,1-3; 7-8 (=Allam, HOUP Plates,pl.125).
	Scribe	1	Scribe (=Chief Draughtsman)	1			

In Ostr.DM 381 vso., the pattern of four hwtwy of the recto is repeated but with one difference; the wages are distributed in two installments. The scribe/draughtsman Hrī is, therefore, separated from the group of captains and is mentioned receiving his wages twice⁷⁵. Unfortunately the amount of his second installment is lacking. Examples of "Type D"-pattern giving only half the list are: Ostr.Cairo CG 25608 and Ostr.DM 380⁷⁶. An example of "Type B"-pattern giving only half the list is Ostr.DM 382.

member of the hwtwy. Instead, he assigns to Imn-nht the status of "the appointed scribe" (i.e., the single sš n p3 hr among the hwtwy) and to his son Hrī-šrī the position of a simple scribe who served as an assistant to his father (ibid.,84 where one may also find the pertinent bibliography regarding Imn-nht and Hrī-šrī). Eyre's view in this matter will be shown to be the correct one, though his arguments leading to it are probably less so (cf.n.96, below).

75 Ostr.DM 381 vso.3,9 (Černý,Ostraca DM V,pl.11). By comparison with the recto of the ostrakon, there is no room to accommodate in the verso two separate distributions of wages for the entire crew. These comments should be taken into consideration when consulting the remarks about Ostr.DM 381 in Wente/Van Siclen,Studies Hughes,239.

76 It is, however, dangerous to conclude, just from half a wage-list of Type D, that 4 hwtwy were on duty, because we cannot be sure that the scribe's wages were always divided into two equal installments. Ostr.DM 621 recto (Sauneron,Ostraca DM VI,pl.31) is an early example of such a case: The foreman and the scribe receive equal wages in the distribution of the "right side" (lines 1-2; in line 3 the foreman P3-šd receives 1+1/4 to be added to 2½ of line 4, making a total of 3+3/4. The scribe's wages are given as 3, but this has to be emended to 3+3/4 if the two subtotals given in line 4 are to be correct). In the distribution of the left "side", however, there is no scribe mentioned (lines 7-8).

The reason for having a hry sšw-kdw as one of the captains is obvious. His was the responsibility to draw the plans of the royal tomb and to see to it that they were executed correctly⁷⁷. Moreover, he had to supervise and correct the work of the draughtsmen. During the preparation of the tomb his presence in the field was essential at given periods. At that time he had to be in a position of authority equal to that of the foremen and scribe⁷⁸.

Even though the full title of the senior draughtsman was hry sšw-kdw⁷⁹, we may expect to find him referred to as sš-kdw, sš-kdw n p3 hr or merely sš⁸⁰, but not as sš n p3 hr. Whether the full title or any abbreviation thereof was used would depend upon the circumstances. Thus, the collective p3 ss 2⁸¹ was appropriate for the combination sš n p3 hr + hry sšw-kdw but not *p3 sš 2 n p3 hr, which does not in fact occur.

It is, therefore, difficult to accept a chronological distinction between documents which mention three and those which mention four hwtwy⁸². One

77 Obviously in collaboration with higher officials. To Černý's remarks in Černý, VK, 22 compare Ostr. Gardiner 70, rto. 3 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 48, 1) and Černý's additional remarks in Community, 197, 198 n. 1. Cf. also Bogoslovsky, ZAS 107, 1980, 95.

78 Most of the documents which mention four hwtwy either declare explicitly that one of them was a (senior) draughtsman, as for instance Pap. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960 vso. I, 7-8 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 125); Pap. Turin Cat. 2078/161 (Giornale dell'anno 17-A rto. 4), line 11 (Botti/Peet, Giornale, pl. 11), or hint by their contents that such an officer was active at the premises. For Ostr. Gardiner 70 vso. 5 see last note and Černý, Community, 235 n. 2. For Pap. Bibl. Nat. 237, I, (2), 5 mentioned in Černý, Community, 234 n. 6 see (ibid.) Černý's account that it contained information about the draughtsmen and chisel bearers who were painting and carving the cartouches of Ramesses VI on a granary. Sš-kdw Pn-t3-wrt n p3 hr is mentioned in Pap. Turin Cat. 1881 rto. VIII, 2 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 110 = Pleyte/Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, pl. 10); in ibid., pl. 7 another page of that same document, of the same side and the same year (7), bears mention of four hwtwy cf. Černý, Community, 235 n. 2.

79 See for instance Theban graffito 2384 (Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 56).

80 Cf. Bogoslovsky, ZAS 107, 1980, Table 1, pp. 96-106.

81 See for instance Ostr. Turin 9611 rto. 5 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 69).

82 Černý has proposed that such a chronological distinction is possible and has drawn the separating line sometime between years 1 and 3 of Ramesses VI (Černý, Community, 235). According to that proposition, documents which bear evidence of 3 hwtwy should be dated to the earlier period whereas those in which four hwtwy/hntwy are present have to be later. This rule has been challenged by Wente and Van Siclen who have shown that it leads to chronological conclusions that cannot be upheld (Studies Hughes, 239). For instance, Ostr. Gardiner 53 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 49, 1) has 4 rwddw n hnw for year 22 of Ramesses III. (The equation rwddw and especially rwddw n hnw = hwtwy can be shown to be true by means of Ostr. Cairo CG 25800 cf. Černý, Community, 235).

should rather expect four hwtjw to correspond to periods during which a prolonged stay of the chief draughtsman in the field was necessary⁸³.

The question of the appearance of the intrusive n in the word hntjw is different altogether, and both Černý⁸⁴ and Wente⁸⁵ must be correct in seeking a chronological explanation to the change; the n is first attested during the reign of Ramesses V.

The fifth member of the hwtjw has been shown to be exceptional and to have nothing to do with additional scribes⁸⁶.

Having proposed that, independently of the total number of the hwtjw, only one sš n p3 hr was involved, we must now identify the framework within which other such scribes officiated. The basic concept of two scribes of p3 hr, proposed by several scholars and doubted by others⁸⁷, is misleading. Černý's reasoning that "the twofold division of the gang of workmen into the 'right' and 'left side' required at least two scribes at one time"⁸⁸, is particularly unwarranted. The documents which mention the activities of both sides but were obviously composed by one and the same scribe are too numerous to need specific mention. The very existence of terms such as p3 III hwtjw and sš n p3 hr n hnw, the latter being applicable to one line of scribes exclusively⁸⁹, proves that the dual conception, stemming from the division of the crew into "sides", should be revised.

Ostr.Cairo CG 25573, I.2-5 of Dynasty XIX refers obviously to four captains despite Černý's implication that only one out of the two otherwise equal scribes was member of the hwtjw (Community, 236).

83 Even though there is proof of simultaneous work of tunneling and decorating of the royal tomb (Černý, VK, 34), there were periods of intensive or even exclusive activity of the decorators (see, for instance, Ostr. Cairo CG 25515 rto. col.V).

84 Černý, Community, 232-33.

85 Wente/Van Siclen, Studies Hughes, 239.

86 Černý, op.cit., 237.

87 See above, n.57. See also Janssen, CPRP, 461ff. (p.462 in particular).

88 Černý, Community, 191.

89 Those who actually bear the full title are all members of the family of 'Imn-nht the son of 'Ipwy for whom see Černý, Community, Appendix D, p.339ff. For the actual examples see Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 58. A possible exception is the scribe P3-bs (ibid., Eb and n.7) who does not seem to be a member of 'Imn-nht's family. P3-bs is mentioned, however, in conjunction with Hrī-šrī who was a member of that family, as n3 sšw n p3 hr n hnw but elsewhere, in the same text and context, P3-bs is sš n p3 hr without the addition n hnw (ibid., 60).

The only pertinent data that have to be taken into account are the following:

- a. There was only one sš n p3 hr (n hnw) who was a member of the hwtw⁹⁰.
- b. There is evidence for more than two scribes on official duty of p3 hr, their number being in most cases three at a time⁹¹.

The obvious conclusion should be that the remaining two scribes of p3 hr were n bnr and belonged to the rwdw n bnr.

After one gets acquainted with the contents of the administrative documents of p3 hr, one can tell, in most cases, whether a given scribe was n p3 hr or not (that is whether he acted as an official scribe of the community or not), and whether a given scribe n p3 hr was n hnw or n bnr, by the sole

90 This seems to be true at least until the second half of the reign of Ramesses IX. During the very last reigns of the dynasty, significant changes were introduced in the administration of the workmen among which was a reorganization of the scribes. This subject deserves a special investigation which lies outside the scope of this book. Significantly, the specification n hnw or n bnr in the titles of the scribes of p3 hr was only felt necessary during that late period, as can be deduced from the fact that all datable examples of those full titles are not earlier than year 16 of Ramesses IX even when they refer to earlier scribes (cf. Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 58 A, D). It is both fortunate and paradoxical that this late peculiarity should have focused our attention to a situation and should have helped us understand it, even though that situation had already changed by the time the peculiarity was introduced.

91 In year 29 of Ramesses III, three scribes of p3 hr Hrī, Imn-nht and Pn-t3-wrt are mentioned in different sections of the Turin Strike Papyrus. The death of Pn-t3-wrt is recorded in the papyrus (Gardiner, RAD, 58.8) but until that time all three scribes of p3 hr were active. For Pn-t3-wrt see *ibid.*, 48.17, for Imn-nht, *ibid.*, 48.11, for Hrī, *ibid.*, 56.6. In year 32 of Ramesses III, the scribes Imn-nht and Hrī were still in office and Imn-hc was promoted to the office of sš n p3 hr (Ostr. DM 38, 2 cf. Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl. 18).

In year 3 of Ramesses IV(?), P3-nfr-m-ddt is mentioned as sš n p3 hr apart from Imn-nht and Hrī who were still in office. Pap. Geneva MAH 15274 vso. II, 4-5 (Massart, MDAIK 15, 1957, 182) which bears this information has been dated by Massart to the reign of Ramesses IV on circumstantial evidence (p. 173). If it turns out to be a year 3 of a slightly later reign (despite the fact that other entries of the papyrus belonged to Ramesses IV), the situation of P3-nfr-m-ddt as a third scribe of p3 hr does not change inasmuch as Hrī-srī followed his father Imn-nht in that post while Hrī continued down to the reign of Ramesses IX.

In year 2 of Ramesses VI (or just possibly Ramesses V) two scribes of p3 hr, Hrī and Imn-m-ipt are recorded (Ostr. Berlin 12654 rto. 1-3. Allam, HOUP Plates, pl. 13). Following them are the foremen and the scribes Imn-nht and Hrī-srī, the latter still an assistant of his father who was sš n p3 hr (cf. n. 74, above).

Similar triads are frequent in earlier documents as well, but at that period the addition n p3 hr to the titles of the official scribes of the Community was rare.

evidence of the nature of their activities⁹². Formal considerations can be brought into account as well; thus, chances are that a single scribe who figures by the side of the two foremen, preferably on a formal occasion, was p3 sš n p3 hr n hnw whether he is actually given that title in the specific inscription or not⁹³. Conversely, the scribes of p3 hr of the outside were frequently grouped with one or both hryw-md3yw "chiefs of police". This association of two scribes of the outside with two chiefs of police, encountered on several formal occasions⁹⁴, gives rise to the belief that the collective (p3 4) rwdw / hryw / wrw (but not wrw C3yw), should be identified with these title-bearers. The chiefs of police as individuals are never claimed to be n bnr because their status was known to all, and therefore self-evident. Since there were no counterparts of the chiefs of police residing in Deir el-Medina⁹⁵, there was no danger of confusion in their case.

An additional consideration that can be taken advantage of when attempting to determine the status of an insufficiently tagged scribe is the principle of "uninterrupted tenure". Since we know that there was only one scribe of

92 For a good example of such a differentiation see Eyre, JEA 66, 1980, 118-19. In Eyre's terminology these were: "the current scribe Qeniherkhepesh" and "Anpuemheb and Pentaweret....the current scribes in charge of the staff".

93 B3y (Ostr.Gardiner 57 rto.1,2; Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl.51,1); Hri-(šrī) (Ostr.BM 5625 vso.6; Blackman, JEA 12, 1926, pl.36); P3-sr (Ostr.Cairo CG 25553 rto.3; Černý, Ostraca CGC, 42*). These are only three out of many examples.

94 Ostr.DM 225 (Černý, Ostraca DM III, pl.16); Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 vso.II, 1-2 (idem, Ostraca CGC, 3*); Ostr.Cairo CG 25237 rto.2-3 (Daressy, Ostraca, 60. The provenance of the ostrakon is marked "Abydos" but this seems rather suspicious in view of the names of the title-bearers who are well known from the documents of Deir el-Medina. Cf. Černý, Community, 280 n.5); Only one scribe with the two chiefs of Police: Turin Strike Papyrus rto. 1,8 (Gardiner, RAD, 53.7).

95 There were only two chiefs of Police at a single time until at least the second half of the reign of Ramesses IX (see n.90, above) as has been shown by Černý (Community, 263). Contrary to Černý's opinion, I believe that the available material is sufficient for the compilation of a reasonably dependable chronological list of these officials.

p3 hr of the inside at a single time⁹⁶, if a given individual can be proved to have held the post at two specific dates, there are excellent chances that he maintained that same post during the interval between those dates.

By means of these methods, it is believed that the differentiation between scribes of the inside and those of the outside can be pushed back to periods preceding the formal introduction of the titles sš n p3 hr n hnw/ n bnr⁹⁷, and even to times during which the very use of sš n p3 hr in preference to the bare sš was an exception rather than the rule⁹⁸.

Both the settlement of Deir el-Medina and the working area of the royal necropolis crew are distant from the edge of cultivation and the waterfront. It is little wonder then, that the word mryt (port, waterfront, canal etc.) became almost synonymous to bnr in the language of the workmen. More specifically it referred to the area covered by the royal mortuary temples and

96 Some documents of mid-Dynasty XX give the illusion that both Imn-nht and his son Hri-šri served as scribes of p3 hr of the inside simultaneously. The most clear examples are Ostr.Berlin 12654 rto.3 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.13) and Ostr.Nicholson Museum R.97 rto.5 (Eyre, Glimpses, 89). In both cases the two foremen are followed by these two scribes though, normally, they should be followed by the single scribe of the inside. Since both Imn-nht and Hri-šri are known from elsewhere to have borne the title of sš n p3 hr (n hnw) (n.89, above), though never together in a contemporary document, the suspicion that these two documents may reflect a period of joint tenure as scribes of p3 hr of the inside is legitimate. The suspicion is easily dispelled, however, when one considers the mention of p3 C3 n 1st 2 p3 sš n p3 hr t3 1st (r) dr.s, "the two foremen, the scribe of p3 hr (and) the entire crew" in the verso of Ostr.Berlin 12654, 6-7 (Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.15) which seems to be contemporary with the recto. Hri-šri had become his father's assistant hry-drt in year 3 (of Ramesses V) (Ostr.Cairo CG 25563 rto.3 - vso.1. rdit sš-kdw Hri-šri hry-drt n p3y. f it(?) "Draughtsman Hri-šri was appointed assistant to his father(?)" The transliteration is Černý's (Ostraca CGC, 46*, 24). After year 3 of Ramesses V, Imn-nht does not bear the title sš n p3 hr any more. So long as his father lived Hri-šri could represent him as a member of the hwtwy and bear his father's title as his representative; the "definite article" in p3 sš Imn-nht sš Hri-šri (Eyre, Glimpses, 84) should probably be understood as a possessive. Thus Hri-šri would be presented as "the one of Scribe Imn-nht" (Černý/Groll, LEG, 45) meaning that he was both his son and his representative. If this theory is accepted, it would mean that Imn-nht did not actually participate in the group of officials of Ostr.Nicholson Museum but was represented by his son.

97 See n.90, above.

98 This was the case until the later years of Ramesses III.

various other constructions⁹⁹ and the waterfront¹⁰⁰. The region in question included docking installations¹⁰¹, bartering facilities¹⁰², interrogation and detention chambers¹⁰³ and the offices of the rw dw n bnr. The tight connection between the terms bnr and mryt in the documents of Deir el-Medina has not been seriously questioned by any one of the scholars who have commented upon this subject¹⁰⁴, and indeed it can be demonstrated in various ways.

The members of the council (knbt) are once referred to as p3 4 rw dw n hnw, p3 4 rw dw n mryt¹⁰⁵ "the four inspectors of the inside and the four inspectors of mryt" showing that the rw dw n bnr were also known as rw dw n mryt. When the officials of p3 hr came to the striking workmen who had descended to the plain of the royal mortuary temples asking them to return to their village, they told them: myn r hnw "come inside"¹⁰⁶ meaning "come back to the village which is n hnw"; but elsewhere, when some problem arose, a door-keeper came (to the village) saying: Myn r mryt, hrw m n3 wrw "come to mryt so say the great ones (inspectors of the outside)"¹⁰⁷. This time, the invitation was to leave the village and descend to the plain.

One descended to mryt (from p3 hr)¹⁰⁸, but always ascended on one's way from the outside to p3 hr¹⁰⁹.

Passing (t3 5 inbt) in protest by the striking workmen could be termed sn3 (r) bnr¹¹⁰, "passing to the outside" but also sn3 r mryt "passing to mryt"¹¹¹

99 This would explain the "town" determinative of mryt (see Černý, Community, 95, and nn.6-9; For Ostr.Nash 1, cf.Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.46,2; For Ostr. BM 5637, Blackman,JEA 12,1926,pl.37.

100 Černý,Community,95 n.5.

101 Ibid.,95.

102 Ibid.,nn.10-12,14 (correct: O.Univ.College 19614 rto.4 for which see now Allam,H0UP Plates,pl.75; for Ostr.Nash 5 see Černý/Gardiner,H0, pl.53,2).

103 Černý,Community,96 nn.7,8; 97 nn.1,2.

104 Christophe,BIFA0 52,1953,118(i). Peet,GTR,12. Janssen,CPRP,184 n.17. Černý,Community,94-97.

105 Ostr.Gardiner 53 rto.2 (Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.49,1).

106 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,4 (Gardiner,RAD,53.1).

107 Ostr.Cairo CG 25264,4 (Allam,H0UP Plates,pl.30; Černý/Groll,LEG,348 Ex.975).

108 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.3,8 (Gardiner,RAD,56.10). Ostr.DM 324 rto.2 (Černý,Ostraca DM IV,pl.27).

109 Černý,Community,95.

110 Ostr.Nicholson Museum R.97 (Eyre,Glimpses,89) vso.1-2.

111 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.3,11 (Gardiner,RAD,56.14).

While the scribe of p3 hr ²Imn-nht was trying to dissuade the workmen from going out to mryt, he explained to them that any knbt to which they might appeal would find them guilty¹¹². This implies that workmen of p3 hr could appeal to a knbt in mryt. In fact, to more than one, even without referral from a local institution. Ostr.Berlin 14214 refers to two such councils and possibly three. One of them was attached to the Ramesseum t3 knbt t3 hwt Wsr-m3Ct-RC-stp-n-RC C.w.s. m pr-2Imn, and the other was t3 knbt bnr¹¹³.

The fact that one of the walkouts of the workmen was effected in order to make accusations to officials outside their community¹¹⁴ is illustrative in this respect.

Similarly, when a workman left p3 hr in order to complain about a domestic problem, he was found guilty and was punished severely by the wrw, but the workman's own foreman was outraged by the sentence and criticized it¹¹⁵.

This series of incidents should convince us that there existed both a knbt and a body of wrw outside p3 hr which took care of problems of p3 hr and whose decisions were more binding than those of the local knbt. These officials were the rdw n bnr.

2It3 r t3 knbt¹¹⁶ means to bring somebody to court, to sue. That knbt could be the local one or the higher one outside. 2It3 r mryt, as a term applied to individual inhabitants of p3 hr¹¹⁷ or even to the entire crew¹¹⁸, was an action, mostly initiated by officials from the outside, by means of which those inhabitants of p3 hr were officially summoned to the outside for interrogation or in order to appear before the knbt there.

112 Ibid., 15-16.

113 Rto.2-6, vso.2 (Allam, HOUPlates, pl.19).

114 Gardiner, RAD, 55.11-12.

115 Pap.DM 27 rto.7-12 (Allam, HOUPlates, pl.98).

116 Wb.I, 150.20. For more examples than those in the Belegstellen, see Pap.Cairo 58057, 7-8 (Allam, HOUPlates, pl.86); Ostr.Ashmolean Museum 1945.37 + 1945.33 rto.16 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl.74); Ostr.Berlin 14214 rto.2 (Allam, op.cit., pl.17); Ostr.Cairo CG 25723 rto.2 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 88*). See also Caminos, LEM, 27, 512(1).

117 Ostr.Nash 1 vso.11 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl.46, 2); Ostr.Geneva 12550 rto.4 (Allam, HOUPlates, 193. One feels that H^c's ownership of the wd3-storeroom was contested there, and that he was made to return it to H^{3y}; Ostr.DM 284, 2-3 (Černý, Ostraca DM IV, pl.12).

118 Ostr.DM 148 vso.5 (Černý, Ostraca DM II, pl.23); Ostr.DM 427 vso.11 (Černý, Ostraca DM IV, pl.22).

Some of the texts in question seem to be best rendered if one translates ʔt3 r mryt as though it were the vernacular for *ʔt3 r (t3) knbt n mryt. In the course of his discussion of the term, Černý suggested that mryt had come to mean "market-place", which is probably correct (cf. nn.101-2, above) but also that a mryt existed in the Valley of the Kings¹¹⁹. This unexpected proposition is based upon the evidence of a single document, Ostr.Cairo CG 25302, in which a close topographical connection between mryt and t3 ʔnt "the wadi" is implied¹²⁰. Since Černý's conclusion in this matter was obviously influenced by his interpretation of the term t3 ʔnt, which is quite different from the one we shall propose to adopt, the discussion of this example in its various aspects will be deferred to the chapter dealing with t3 ʔnt¹²¹.

119 Černý, *Community*, 94, 97.

120 Cf. *ibid.*, 93 and detailed translation below, pp.146, 155-56.

121 As against Černý's view that t3 ʔnt was the "Valley of the Kings", it will be proposed that it was the wadi of Deir el-Medina (see p.154).

CHAPTER IV: P3 htm N P3 hr

P3 htm n p3 hr is a term that has been known for a considerable time and has been frequently translated as "the Fortress of the Necropolis"¹. It occurs in more than thirty five examples from among the published documents of the Theban Necropolis of the Ramesside Period². It has been

¹ Wb.III,352.9-10

² This number includes many examples wherein (p3) htm occurs without the addition n p3 hr or is followed by a lacuna. The problem of identity between the full term and its abbreviated form will be discussed below. The following is a list of examples that does not claim to be exhaustive. The items are numbered for the purpose of subsequent reference.

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|---|--|
| I. (P3) <u>htm</u> (n) p3 <u>hr</u> | |
| 1.Ostr.Berlin 12654 rto.4 | Allam,HOUP Plates,p1.13 |
| 2. " " vso.4 | Allam,HOUP Plates,p1.15 |
| 3.Ostr.BM 50722 + Ostr.Cairo CG 25726,3 | Černý/Gardiner,H0,p1.68,1 |
| 4.Ostr.Cairo CG 25273,2-3;4 | Daressy,Ostraca,70 |
| 5. " CG 25504 rto.II,2 | Černý,Ostraca CGC,2* |
| 6. " " vso.II,2;8 | Černý,Ostraca CGC,3* |
| 7.Ostr.DM 386,2 | Černý,Ostraca DM V,p1.12 |
| 8. " 570,6 | Sauneron,Ostraca DM VI,p1.11 |
| 9. " 571,4;6;7 | Sauneron,Ostraca DM VI,p1.11 |
| 10. " 651 rto.3 | Černý,Ostraca DM VII,p1.13 |
| 11.Ostr.Gardiner 23,11-12 | Černý/Gardiner,H0,p1.43,4 |
| 12.Ostr.Michaelides 1,2 | Goedicke/Wente,Ostraka Michaelides,p1.51 |
| 12a.Ostr.Nicholson Mus. R.97 rto.4 | Eyre,Glimpses,89 |
| 13.Pap.Geneva MAH 15274 vso.I,3 | Massart,MDAIK 15,1957,182 |
| 14.Pap.Turin Cat.1879 "of the Gold Mines" rto.4 | Černý,Community,61 |
| 15.Pap.Turin Cat.1880 "Turin Strike Paprus" rto.1,8 | Gardiner,RAD,53.8 |
| 16. " rto.4,23 | " " 54.7 |
| 17. " rto.2,20 | " " 56.1 |
| 18.Pap.Turin Cat.1907/8 rto.II,1 | Janssen,JEA 52,1966,p1.16A |
| 19.Theban graffito 790,3 | Spiegelberg,Graffiti,64 |
| II. (P3) <u>htm</u> | |
| 20.Ostr.BM 50734 + Ostr.Cairo CG 25673 + Ostr.Gardiner 99 rto.4 | Černý/Gardiner,H0,p1.67,1 |
| 21.Ostr.Cairo CG 25263(?),4 | Daressy,Ostraca,68 |
| 22.Ostr.Cairo CG 25654(?) rto.7 | Černý,Ostraca CGC,70* |
| 23.Ostr.DM 40 vso.6 | Černý,Ostraca DM I,p1.23 |
| 24. " 45 vso.9 | " " I,p1.35 |
| 25. " 103 rto.3 | " " I,p1.58 |
| 26. " 114 vso.1 | " " II,p1.1 |
| 27. " 161 + Ostr.Strassburg H.82(unpublished) rto.3,4 | " " II,p1.37 |
| 28.Ostr.DM 252 rto. | " " IV,p1.3 |
| 29. " 380,2 | " " V,p1.11 |
| 30. " 427 vso.11 | " " V,p1.22 |
| 31. " 582,7 | Sauneron,Ostraca DM VI,p1.17 |

commented upon on several occasions³ but has never been studied systematically in order to obtain a clear picture of its nature, its location and its main functions. Yet, such an investigation is feasible owing to the amount of data available from the documents, and most necessary, in view of a certain incompatibility between the evidence and the prevailing theories on the nature of the htm that seem to exist.

"The Fortress of the Necropolis" seems at first sight to be a straightforward literal translation of p3 htm n p3 hr, hardly needing any substantiation. The assumed equivalence between htm and "fortress" goes probably back to the fact that, when used in other combinations of the type p3 htm n + Placename, htm is quite commonly interpreted as "fortress"⁴. Leaving aside for the moment the question of the validity of the latter interpretation, before one can apply it to p3 htm n p3 hr, one should make sure that the documents mentioning that particular htm favor such a meaning.

Judging by the activities that are reported to have taken place in p3 htm n p3 hr, it becomes obvious that the translation "fortress" is not based upon solid foundations.

P3 htm n p3 hr is never represented as a particularly safe place to be in, or as one that plays any role in the defence of the Necropolis, or one that was built of specially resistant materials or in a particular method of construction that might guarantee protection. No soldiers or weapons are ever mentioned in connection with p3 htm n p3 hr and no regular inspection of its condition is ever reported⁵. It did not have, as far as we know, any towers, ramparts, observation points, etc., but instead it had a

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- | | |
|---|---|
| 32.Ostr.Levi de Benzion,6 | Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.72,4 |
| 33.Ostr.Michaelides 73,3 | Goedicke/Wente,Ostraka
Michaelides,pl.65 |
| 34.Ostr.Petrie 62 rto.5 | Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.73,2 |
| 35.Ostr.Queen's College 1115 rto.4 | " " pl.31,1 |
| 36.Ostr.Turin N.57068 rto.1 | Lopez,Ostraca Ieratici,pl.42a |
| 37.Pap.DM 26A rto.8 | Allam,H0UP Plates,pl.92 |
| 38.Pap.Turin Cat.1880 "Turin Strike
Papyrus" vso.2,6 | Gardiner,RAD,46.1 |
| 39. " rto.3,8 | Gardiner,RAD,56.10-11 |
- 3 Peet,GTR,12; Otto, Topographie,64; Massart,MDA1K 15,1957,182 n.1;
Černý,Community,18,97,162; idem,VK,16 n.4;19; Thomas,JEA 49,1963,62
and n.4; idem,RNT,50-51; Janssen,CPRP,560.
- 4 Besides the information in the Wb. (see n.1), cf.Gardiner,AEO II,202*;
Helck,JARCE 6,1967,136(f); Schulman,MRT0,45-46;Caminos,LEM,257,298.
- 5 As was for instance the case with the inbwt of the Necropolis, see below, p.123,exx.14-17.

granary⁶, a place for social meetings⁷, the necessary facilities for the convention of a knbt⁸, and most probably a gate guarded by door-keepers⁹. The "house" determinative and not that of a fortified wall accompanies that of the htm-seal¹⁰.

The primary meaning of htm is "to close, to seal". The substantive could therefore be "something that serves the purpose of closing or sealing up an opening". Such a closure need only be fortified, or a fortress in itself, if serious efforts of forcing a passage through that closure are expected. The element of fortification should therefore not be inherent in the term htm, though the element of domination over a passageway, whether by physical or administrative means, should be.

So long as one defines p3 htm n p3 hr as "Fortress of the Necropolis" and leaves it at that, no real harm is done; the situation may however change if that definition is utilized to back a theory. Thomas, for instance, has taken p3 htm n p3 hr into account as one of the elements in her proposed network of defences of the Theban Royal Necropolis; in fact, she considers it to be the only element entitled to the status of a true fortress¹¹, since the others, the inbwt, were only fortified guardhouses. Elsewhere she states that p3 htm n p3 hr apparently served also as an administrative center, which she visualizes in the form of a "large dry-wall hut and its small business (sic)"¹², situated in the Valley of the Kings. The text does not clarify whether or not she considers "Fortress" to be a fitting term for such a hut. Fortunately, Thomas's theory does not depend uniquely upon the interpretation of the htm inasmuch as fortified enclosures of the type inbt (t3 5 inbt excluded), did probably exist in the region of the Royal Necropolis and could have very well been put up for defensive purposes¹³.

Černý's view about the nature of p3 htm n p3 hr is quite different. Even though he admits that the commonly accepted translation of the term is "Fortress of the Necropolis"¹⁴, his own suggestion is "The Closing of the

6 See n.2 Nos.2,28,37.

7 See n.2 Nos.8,18,35.

8 See n.2 Nos.1,12 and probably 36.

9 See n.2 Nos 15,38. On these door-keepers see below, pp.110-11.

10 The "seal" determinative itself is missing in a few examples, n.2 Nos.8, 34,35,18.

11 Thomas, JEA 49,1963,62.

12 Idem, RNT, 50-51.

13 The term inbt will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

14 Černý, Community, 18.

Tomb" or "The Entrance of the Tomb"¹⁵. The "Tomb" in both cases should be understood as the King's Tomb in course of construction.

"The Closing" suits better the basic meaning of p3 htm than "the Fortress" does, but Černý's theory about the equivalence between p3 hr and the royal tomb in titles and toponyms has been hard to uphold in other instances¹⁶ and it will be suggested that the present case does not make it any easier.

However, before we can discuss the details of location of the htm, we ought to settle first the problem raised by numerous mentions of p3 htm without the addition n p3 hr in the documents of the Necropolis. Should this be taken to be an abbreviated form of p3 htm n p3 hr or does it refer to a different htm? The question is most pertinent since about half of our examples make mention of either a bare p3 htm or p3 htm, followed by a lacuna¹⁷, and it should be made clear at this stage whether they may be used in our argumentation or ought to be ignored.

Had p3 htm n p3 hr been the only htm to be mentioned in the documents of the necropolis the problem would have been relatively simple inasmuch as dropping the qualifier n p3 hr when there was no danger of confusion was a commonly accepted means of abbreviation in administrative texts. Thus, bare rmt-ṯst NN was understood as rmt-ṯst n p3 hr NN¹⁸, t3 ṯst was always t3 ṯst (n) p3 hr¹⁹, p3 III hwtwy were p3 III hwtwy n p3 hr²⁰, and so on. The present case, however, is different because of the existence of an additional htm termed p3 htm n dmiṯ "the htm of the Village (Deir el-Medina)".

Even though the latter term has been encountered only once²¹, one is nonetheless entitled to doubt as to whether any given example containing a bare p3 htm (or p3 htm followed by a lacuna) should be understood as p3 htm n dmiṯ. By comparing the contexts of documents containing the bare p3 htm to the contexts of those containing p3 htm n p3 hr, we can conclude that at least part of the abbreviated occurrences may be considered equivalent to p3 htm n p3 hr.

¹⁵ Ibid., 162; idem, VK, 16 n.4.

¹⁶ See pp.9, 109-10.

¹⁷ Cf. n.2 Nos.20-39.

¹⁸ Černý, Community, 99 nn.7,8.

¹⁹ Ibid., nn.1,2;p.101.

²⁰ Ibid., 231.

²¹ Ostr.DM 339 vso.1-2 (Černý, Ostraca DM IV, pl.33).

Thus, for instance, in both versions a close connection to mryt can be demonstrated²², both were attained after passing t3 5 or 4 inbt²², both had a granary (šnwt)²³, both had door-keepers²⁴, both were places in which rations were issued to the crew of p3 hr²⁵, both were meeting places between officials of p3 hr and their colleagues of the "regional" administration or their superiors of the central administration²⁶, particularly, both were visited by the vizier²⁷, the High Priest of Amon²⁸, both were attainable by women²⁹, in both private individuals could conclude financial transactions or could drink together³⁰, both served as headquarters for the activities of scribe Hrī of the regional administration of p3 hr³¹. In short, the amount of data that support the equivalence between p3 htm and p3 htm n p3 hr is surprising considering the limited number of examples at hand. Yet, when a specific example of a bare p3 htm is being considered, there is nothing to guarantee that it does not, exceptionally, refer to p3 htm n dmꜣt rather than to p3 htm n p3 hr, unless its own context can be shown to be incompatible with its identification as p3 htm n dmꜣt.

In order to dispell all doubt, only full versions of p3 htm n p3 hr will be utilized in the forthcoming argumentation. In a single case for which an example containing the full version is lacking, care will be taken to demonstrate the acceptability of the abbreviated term which will be used. Whenever items numbered 20-39 in our note 2 will be cited (the abbreviated versions), they will only serve as additional, supporting evidence, for what it is worth.

Returning now to Černý's suggestion that p3 htm (n p3 hr) was the closing of the king's tomb in its most literal sense, we find it hard to reconcile the activities mentioned above, which point insistently in favor of an administrative function of the htm, with the seclusion and secrecy that ought to be associated with a royal tomb of the Ramesside Period. Černý himself has pointed out that women were not allowed in the Valley of the

22 Cf.n.2 No.9 with No.39.

23 Cf.n.2 No.2 with No.37.

24 Cf.n.2 No.15 with No.38.

25 Cf.n.2 No.5 with No.33.

26 Cf.n.2 No.17 with No.26.

27 Cf.n.2 No.3 with No.32.

28 Cf.n.2 No.9 with No.27.

29 Cf.n.2 No.8 with Nos.34 or 35.

30 Cf.n.2 Nos.8 or 18 with No.35.

31 Cf.n.2 No.4 with No.29.

Kings³², and yet they are attested at the htm. Keeping a granary in the Valley of the Kings and dispatching officials of the central administration there to supervise the issuing of rations to the people of the Necropolis is both impractical and illogical; holding sessions of the knbt at the entrance of the Royal Tomb, and on a decade-end day at that³³, does not make any better sense.

Massart, faced by the need to interpret a specific passage mentioning p3 htm n p3 hr in terms of the traditional theories about the nature of that term and its location, came to realize their inadequacy. The following quotation from his discussion of the term bears testimony to the difficulties one has to face if one wishes to adhere to those views. "The Htm n p3 Hr is usually translated 'the Fortress of the Tomb'. Now, no remains of fortresses have ever been discovered near a royal tomb. The verb htm means 'to shut, to seal'. The noun may mean something shut or sealed and so denote here simply the entrance itself of the royal tomb in construction which was sealed or closed, and even guarded when no work was going on; alternatively it could mean some provisional building near by guarding the entrance of the p3 Hr where the watchman lived and where were kept, as we see here, the tools out of use"³⁴.

A provisional building in which tools and other materials were kept did probably exist in the Valley of the Kings but the term wd3 would fit its function better than p3 htm n p3 hr³⁵ and, in any case, discarded tools would have been out of place in such a store since, as far as we can judge, recasting of tools was not among the crafts normally performed in the

32 Černý, Community, 18-19.

33 See n.2 No.12. 3bd 2 Smw, sw 20.

34 Massart, MDAIK 15, 1957, 182(i).

35 Janssen, (CPRP, 457-58) discusses a wd3 that might have existed in the Valley of the Kings. I do not agree with him, however, that it was under the supervision of the Overseer of the Treasury (p.458 n.16), or that it was identical with p3 wd3 n Pr-3 (p.458 n.17), inasmuch as it is clear from the ostrakon he quotes (Ostr.Cairo CG 25539 I, 1,6), that a distinction is made between p3 wd3 and p3 wd3 n Pr-3, the latter serving as the main depot from which goods were occasionally brought to the local wd3; See next note.

Valley of the Kings³⁶.

The main difficulty presented by the definitions that have been hitherto quoted, has to do with the location of p3 htm n p3 hr. Not only are the activities performed in it incompatible with its location in the Valley of the Kings but there also exists direct evidence showing that it could only be situated in mryt, i.e., in the plain, near the Royal Mortuary Temples. In view of the importance of this statement, the examples involved will be discussed in detail.

Dealing with the geographical data obtainable from the Turin Strike Papyrus Peet noted: "At the same time it seems a legitimate inference from this very document that the Fortress of the Necropolis was on the river bank...."³⁷. The passage that triggered this remark contains the advice Chief Workman Hnsw gave to the crew to receive the rations and afterwards to descend to mryt, to the htm, in order to cause the Vizier to become informed of their situation³⁸. The combination of the notion of descent, the link between p3 htm and mryt and the prospect of finding there appropriate officials leave little doubt that the workmen had been directed to go down to the region of the Mortuary Temples. The further information that in order to carry out that advice the crew had been obliged to attempt the crossing of t3 5 inbt only strengthens our argument³⁹. P3 htm was obviously situated at "the river bank".

36 Metal tools were kept in a wd3 (cf. Valbelle, Poids DM I, 15 and n.8).

In that storeroom the workmen could probably deposit their tools before leaving the region for the "week-end", and from it they could obtain a new tool when need arose. Once in a while all discarded tools were measured and sent out for recasting. Mention of coppersmiths in the documents of the Necropolis is rare (cf. Eyre, JEA 66, 1980, 118); Copper-smiths were not among the regular crew and there is no reason to believe that such craftsmen were allowed in the working areas. The only document which bears some useful details on this subject, Ostr. Cairo CG 25581 (p. 181 n.32, below) is exceptional in many respects and mentions only two coppersmiths who were brought to the village of Deir el-Medina. A substantiation to the effect that the massive transfer of blunted tools to p3 htm n p3 hr under proper guard, which is mentioned in Pap. Geneva MAH 15274 vso. I, 3 (cf. n.33), was indeed to the outside, is available in Ostr. Cairo CG 25828, 1 (Černý, Ostraca CGC 119*) where delivery of tools for the crew is said to be effected in mryt; the latter has been already discussed and located in the region of the Royal Mortuary Temples (see pp. 80-82, above).

37 Peet, GJR, 12.

38 Dd in 3 n ist Hnsw n t3 ist: Ptr tw. i hr dd n. tn. Šsp dīw mtw. tn h3y r mryt r p3 htm hr imi dd sw n3 hr dw n I3ty n. f (Gardiner, RAD, 56.9-11). The passage will be translated and discussed in p. 102.

39 Ibid., lines 13-14. The term t3 5 inbt is discussed separately. See p. 120ff.

Černý was naturally familiar with this passage and remarked that it proves the river bank was walled off at that place⁴⁰. From this remark it becomes obvious that Černý, unlike Peet, did not choose to identify p3 htm "of the river bank" with p3 htm n p3 hr. In principle, this attitude is legitimate though one would be more inclined to back it if the text, instead of the apposition r mryt r p3 htm, had read something like *r p3 htm (n) mryt⁴¹.

That the htm at the river bank was identical with p3 htm n p3 hr follows from another passage taken from the same papyrus:

Hsbt 29 3bd 2 Prt, sw 13 hr p3 htm n p3 hr. Ddt.n hry-md3yw Mntw-ms: Ptr tw .i hr dd n.tn t3y.i wšbt. I-šm r-hry mtw.tn nwy n3y.tn h^Cw mtw.tn htm n3y. tn sb3w mtw.tn in n3y.tn hmwt n3y.tn hrdrw mtw.i šm r h3t.tn r t3 Hwt Mn-M3^Ct --R^C C.w.s. mtw.i dīt hmsi.tn im m dw3⁴². "Year 29, second month of the Second Season, day 13 at p3 htm n p3 hr; Declaration by the Chief of Police Mntw-ms; 'Look, I am telling you my opinion; Go up, gather your belongings, seal your doors, bring your wives and your children and I shall lead you tomorrow to the Mansion of Mn-M3^Ct-R^C L.P.H. (King Seti I), and shall install you there'".

In order to understand this passage properly, one should take into consideration that it is dated to the fourth consecutive day of a strike of the workmen which began on the tenth. Its various stages can be summarized as follows. On the tenth, the workmen passed t3 5 inbt n p3 hr as they descended to Medinet Habu and then they sat down near the temple of Tuthmosis III. They spent the day there and returned for the night to p3 hr⁴³. The following morning found them passing the inbwt once again; this time they chose the Temple of Ramesses II and settled down near one of the southern gates of its temenos⁴⁴. For the twelfth, we are informed that the striking workmen reached the Ramesseum once again and that they spent the night there near its entrance⁴⁵. What comes next should be dated to the

40 Černý, Community, 97.

41 If Černý's view is accepted, three distinct htmw should be considered namely, p3 htm n p3 hr which was, according to Černý, in the Valley of the Kings, p3 htm n dmit which was at Deir el-Medina, and p3 htm which was situated at mryt, i.e., at the plain of the Mortuary Temples.

42 Gardiner, RAD, 54.6-12 = Pap. Turin Cat. 1880 rto. 4, 23 - 4, 16 (sic).

43 Ibid., 52.14 - 53.3 = there, rto. 1, 1-5.

44 Ibid., 53.4-5 = there, rto. 1, 6.

45 Ibid., 53.6-7 = there, rto. 1, 7.

thirteenth⁴⁶; the workmen entered into the Ramesseum, their superiors appeared and the Chief of Police Mntw-ms proposed or threatened that he would fetch the Mayor of Thebes, and probably went to report the situation to the mayor. What follows is fragmentary but apparently some official was dispatched (probably the "scribe of the mat" Hd-nht), and, together with the local priests he heard the complaints of the workmen⁴⁷.

The text quoted above was added to the manuscript as a separate entry at a later date and upside down⁴⁸. It deals with a specific episode that happened on that thirteenth day of the month, between the same Chief of Police Mntw-ms and the crew, at p3 htm n p3 hr. It may have happened during the deliberations (since it will be proposed that the htm was situated not far from the Ramesseum), or during the dispensing of the provisions which must have taken place at the htm as customary. Therefore, the workmen were in the region of the mortuary temples and not in the Valley of the Kings when Mntw-ms spoke to them at p3 htm n p3 hr. That the scene should have changed from that region to the Valley of the Kings after four days of strike and on the very day that the workmen had met Mntw-ms among the officials at the Ramesseum, and after he himself had gone to Thebes to report to the Mayor, seems to me rather improbable.

46 The inference is that events are presented in this passage of the Strike Papyrus in chronological order, and that whatever follows a passage mentioning sdr, "spending the night", should be dated to the day following that night, at the earliest.

Thus, the activity which resulted in the distribution of provisions to the workmen, in which the chief of Police Mntw-ms was a key participant, took place on the thirteenth and not the twelfth as Helck (Materialien, 605) and Janssen (CPRP, 464 Table A(11a), where vso. should be changed into rto.) have proposed.

Supporting evidence to the effect that the strike was called off on the thirteenth can be found in Ostr.Cairo CG 25530, 1-5 (Černý, Ostraca CGC, 30*), which deals with the same incident. There, after informing us that the workmen had crossed out (of their village on strike) twice on the tenth and the eleventh (lines 1-3), the scribe skipped the twelfth since it was an uneventful day of strike, and continued with the announcement of Mntw-ms's achievement (cr cf. Helck, MIO 4, 1956, 165; idem, JARCE 6, 1967, 149 line 58) which took place on the thirteenth.

In this context, Mntw-ms's achievement can only refer to the cessation of the strike; the text, however, breaks off in that point.

47 Gardiner, RAD, 53.7 - 54.4 = rto.1,7 - 2,5.

48 Ibid., p. XVII n.2; but see Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 142 n.34.

Even more convincing is the evidence of the speech of Mntw-ms. He told the workmen at p3 htm n p3 hr to go up, gather their belongings etc. Now, we know, and Černý has presented evidence to this effect⁴⁹, that the verbs "to ascend tsi, ii r hry, are constantly used to denote motion from the plain to the Necropolis proper, from mryt to Deir el-Medina or to the Valley of the Kings, and from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings. The opposite, "to descend", h3y, sm r hry, are used for motion in the opposite direction. It is therefore contrary to this local peculiarity of the language to assume that Mntw-ms was actually in the Valley of the Kings near the entrance of the Royal Tomb, and yet he was telling them to go up. What is more, according to this same passage, p3 htm n p3 hr could not even be in Deir el-Medina, for what Mntw-ms was proposing was that they should ascend to their village and not to the Valley of the Kings. It is in the village that they had doors to be sealed, and it is only there that their wives and children stayed. As for the h^Cw that should be gathered, those should not be understood as being the tools they had been working with, since for these we have more specific names, and anyway the workmen had left their working place (wherever that might have been), for the decade-end vacation so that the tools would have been already put away. h^Cw with the "stick" determinative is a collective which could be applied to any kind of tools, implements or utensils. Since all other components of Mntw-ms's suggestion have to do with the Deir el-Medina houses of the workmen, nwy h^Cw should be understood as "assemble the (household) utensils" or "pack up one's personal effects"⁵⁰.

49 Černý, ArOr 3, 1931, 398 n.1; idem, Community, 95.

50 This passage deserves more attention than has been accorded to it; it should not be understood as a simple proposition on the part of the chief of Police to organize for the workmen an additional strike, this time near the Gurna Temple of Seti I. Such a proposition would have been irreconcilable with the rest of Mntw-ms's activities on the one hand, and unacceptable to the workmen on the other. It would indeed serve the purpose of neither side. What Mntw-ms was suggesting was a temporary abandonment of Deir el-Medina since there was no need for the workmen to remain there any more, and since a resettlement near the Mortuary Temple of Seti I could have solved most of the problems the workmen had been facing. They would be allowed to live on agriculture and to obtain jobs as expert tomb builders and decorators for the nobility of Thebes. Their dependence upon state charity for survival would therefore cease.

The only other instance I am aware of in which the crew had reportedly started packing was immediately after they were informed that the "enemy" had descended (Ostr.DM 35.9-10 = Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl.15). That incident occurred on II Prt 24-25 of an unknown year, and in fact, the journal remains silent during the whole month of III Prt and resumes its reports on IV Prt 1 (line 14).

A welcome confirmation to the suggestion that p3 htm n p3 hr was indeed located in the plain can be found in Ostr. DM 571⁵¹ according to which, passing the ḥnbwt, descending to mryt and staying at p3 htm n p3 hr are closely connected.

Having reached this stage, we should now attempt to locate p3 htm n p3 hr as precisely as possible in mryt. Its earliest mention seems to date from the time of Ramesses II⁵². The type of activities which took place at the htm implies that it would have been advantageous to have it in close proximity to the center of administration of Western Thebes which was probably at the Ramesseum⁵³.

51 See n.2 No.9. For a translation see Helck, *Materialien*, 585. For the dating as proposed by Helck see below, p.135 n.83.

52 Ostr.DM 114 (=n.2 No.26). Actually this ostrakon only mentions p3 htm and not p3 htm n p3 hr. The context, however, for which see pp.99-100 does not leave much room for doubt, since if p3 htm n dmi were intended, there would have been no need to ask the captains to come and meet the royal official at the htm since p3 htm n dmi was right where the captains lived at Deir el-Medina. The earliest among the documents utilizing the full formula p3 htm n p3 hr is Ostr.Cairo CG 25504, datable to the reign of Merneptah (cf.n.2 No.5).

53 By the time of Ramesses II, Western Thebes had a secular administration in addition to its religious cult centers. This fact is made obvious by the introduction of the title "Mayor of Western Thebes: which is first encountered during that reign. For the title and the prosopography of its successive bearers see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 237, 429-32, 532-33. The major task of that administration must have been the construction of the Royal Mortuary Temple (the preparation of the Royal Tomb was, as we have seen, in the hands of a special unit, p3 hr). One should therefore expect the headquarters of the secular administration of Western Thebes to have been situated in the vicinity of the temple in course of construction which must have naturally become an area of concentrated activity. By the time the construction had progressed significantly, the headquarters in question could have been incorporated in the dependencies of the mortuary temple. This could have happened in the course of the long reigns of the Ramesside Period, i.e., in the Ramesseum and the temple at Medinet Habu. Both temples have been shown to contain extensive administrative facilities part of which could have been used by the non-religious authorities.

Considering the fact that most mortuary temples of the Ramesside Period were constructed in the same general area, the offices of the secular administration could have remained in their original premises (in the Ramesseum for instance) until such time as a new construction would approach the stage of completion of the Ramesseum as was the case during the time of Ramesses III. Had there existed an administrative center of Western Thebes distinct from the mortuary temples it would be bound to figure in the documents of the necropolis, and particularly in those mentioning strikes and complaints on the part of the workmen.

An additional pointer in favor of the vicinity of the Ramesseum has to do with the term htm itself.

Whenever the word is utilized in documents other than those of p3 hr as a name of a place or of some facility, building or administration, pertaining to an Egyptian settlement, that settlement always turns out to be one of the frontier outposts of the country whose primary task was to bar the routes leading to Egypt⁵⁴. The terminology is not always clear, but in several cases it is apparent that the term htm is not applied to the settlement as a whole, but rather to the border facilities, including the buildings and the administration necessary for the maintenance of control over entry and exit⁵⁵. Since buildings of that nature would normally be expected to be fortified, htm has been hitherto translated "fortress". Such a

54 The following htm are attested: (references are mostly sample occurrences of the term and do not pretend to be exhaustive).

Of I3rw, dominating the northernmost route from Asia to Egypt. Cf. Caminos, LEM, 73, 111, 257, 269, 407.

Of Ikw, dominating the route from the Bitter Lakes along Wadi Tumilat. Cf. ibid., 293f.

Of P3(Pr) W3d-wr, dominating somehow the Mediterranean border of Egypt. Cf. Gardiner, AEO I, 33*(A.105).

Of T3 h3st Gbtw, dominating the Red Sea route to Egypt through Wadi Hammamat. Cf. Caminos, LEM, 298; Helck, JARCE 6, 1967, 136(f).

Of W3w3t(?), dominating the southern frontier and most probably identical with the following one. Cf. Schulman, MRT0, 144(368b).

Of Snmt (=Biggah), dominating the southern frontier. Gardiner cites evidence to the effect that Snmt was regarded as the southern frontier of Egypt proper (AEO II, 2*). Cf. Gardiner, RAD, 74.4; Schulman, MRT0, 122(144 line 84) should probably be read Snmt as well.

Imy-r htm n Ntr nfr or Imy-r htm n Nb-t3wy (ibid., 144(369); 145(372)), may refer to any of the abovementioned htm but the epithets should preferably be regarded as parts of the titles rather than indications of specific htm. Gauthier, DGI, 191 cites an example from Pap. Anastasi III vs0.5, 4-5. Caminos (LEM, 112), however, rightly claims that it is a personal name.

P3 htm n W3t (Hr), mentioned in Pap. Anastasi I 27, 2f., is to be identified with that of I3rw mentioned above. See Gardiner, JEA 6, 1920, 103.

Interestingly, non-frontier forts such as those of the second cataract, were not termed htm. The Asiatic fortified settlements were not htm either. Terms such as nhtw, bhnw, mnw, mktr, sgr and the like, are used to convey the fortified aspect of such settlements or constructions. Some Asiatic towns had, however, a htm, for which see below.

55 A clear example for this use of htm is in Pap. Anastasi VI 4, 14.- 5, 1 (Gardiner, LEM, 76; Caminos, LEM, 293f.): Twn grh.n m d'it sn' n3 mhwt S3sw n'Idm p3 htm n Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3Ct C.w.s. nty (m) Ikw r n3 brkt n Pr-Itmw (n) Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3Ct nty Ikw r s'nh.w "We have finished letting the Shosu tribes of Edom pass the htm of Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3Ct (King Merneptah) L.P.H. which is (in) Tjeku, to the pools of Pithom (of) Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3Ct (King Merneptah) which are in the Tjeku-nome, in order to sustain them. . . .".

facility is bound to be situated on the route of entry itself.

Having such htm in the Theban area is exceptional and their existence should be interpreted as an additional indication that p3 hr as a whole and the village of Deir el-Medina were areas of limited and controlled access. In principle, the access to Egyptian settlements other than the frontier outposts mentioned above, does not seem to have been limited during the Ramesside Period. There obviously existed however, regions, precincts, complexes of buildings and so forth, to which access was, for various reasons, controlled. In those cases, only people who disposed of the right qualifications or the right permit would be allowed in. The checkpoint necessary for this kind of control would also be termed htm and it need not be fortified or be termed "fort", though it must have disposed of some means of domination over the passageway.

Thus, for instance, a priest of Khnum at Elephantine was once accused of having passed into the inner part of the htm without having first fulfilled the prerequisite of purification by drinking natron for a full period of ten days⁵⁶. The htm in question pertained presumably to the installations of the Temple of Khnum, and should not be termed a fortress, and certainly not "the Fortress of Elephantine"⁵⁷. The gateways of Asiatic fortified settlements also had such checkpoints at which the entrance could be barred easily (mainly, but not necessarily, to enemies). Those points, which were essential for the fortification but not "fortresses" in themselves, could be termed htm. Such are mentioned for Megiddo⁵⁸, Joppa⁵⁹ etc.

As we have seen, apart from p3 htm n p3 hr which is the subject of our discussion, there existed an additional htm at the very entrance to the village of the workmen at Deir el-Medina. This checkpoint is termed nšp in

56 Gardiner, RAD, 75.4-5.

57 Gamal Wahbah, MDAIK 34, 1978, 183 fig. 2, n. 11, refers to a block from Philae which was discovered at the foot of the stairway descending from the roof of the Isis temple on which "p3 htm n + the upper part of a cartouche of Ramesses II" could be read. His translation "...of the fortress of Ramesses Meryamun" is followed by the following remark: "The word htm does not in this case necessarily indicate a fortress, but can also mean a fortified city or royal palace".

58 Urk. IV, 661.13.

59 Gardiner, LES, 84.9 (The Capture of Joppa).

one document⁶⁰, while in another, Ostr. DM 339 vso.1-2⁶¹, it bears the name p3 htm n dmit.

A "door-keeper" (H^C-m-W3st) is accused of having entered the village proper by crossing into the inner part of that htm, and having proceeded as far inside as the house of the scribe Wnn-nfr although, apparently, he had no business doing that, and despite the fact that the workman on duty tried to prevent him from entering⁶². Through this long digression I have sought to demonstrate that a htm ought to be barring the entrance to some place, and ought to be situated somewhere on the route leading to that place.

The route leading from mryt to p3 hr during the reign of Ramesses II mounted from some point in the vicinity of the Ramesseum in a southwestern direction until it reached the entrance of the valley of Deir el-Medina⁶³. There, after further inspection, one could proceed southwards to the main entrance of the village proper or westwards, along the path of the workmen which led over the cliffs to the Valley of the Kings⁶⁴. It is therefore near the Ramesseum that evidence for p3 htm n p3 hr should be sought.

Mortuary temples of later kings of Dynasty XIX such as Merneptah and Tausert were built in that very region so that the proximity between the htm and those institutions was maintained throughout the dynasty. By the time of Ramesses III, with his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, an alternative route to the village of Deir el-Medina and to the inside was put to

60 Gardiner, RAD, 55.6.

61 Cf. n. 21, above.

62 Sh3-r (iry) - C3 H^C-m-W3st i-ir sni p3 htm n dmit iw.f hr Ck r hnw r r-C pr sS Wnn-nfr iw P3-iry hr htm hr /// ... (Ostr. DM 339 vso.1-3), "Accusation against the door-keeper H^C-m-W3st who passed the htm n dmit and entered to the inside as far as the house of the scribe Wnn-nfr, and P3-iry closed upon ///".

The passage has been translated by Helck (ZDMG 105, 1955, 32) who unexpectedly translates p3 htm n dmit by "die Festung des Hafens", with the Middle Kingdom meaning of dmi.

We have seen that p3 htm n p3 hr was located in the plain of the royal mortuary temples and therefore there should be no confusion between it and p3 htm n dmit which was in the village. As far as the cases containing the simple p3 htm are concerned, there is no evidence that any of those refers to p3 htm n dmit whereas many among them can be shown by various means (mainly with the help of the general context) to refer to p3 htm n p3 hr.

63 It will be suggested that this point was r t3 int. See below, p. 154.

64 See Fig. 1.

use. Walking westwards from a point slightly to the north of Medinet Habu, one attains the southern extremity of the wadi of Deir el-Medina. From there, one can climb up the slope of the wadi facing towards the north, until one reaches the back of the village. Thus, during Dynasty XX, two paths were in use by those who went from mryt to the inside.

Since we have no evidence that the htm was transferred to a new site as a consequence of the transfer of the center of administration to Medinet Habu, we may assume that the old route of access to the inside remained in use, and was mainly utilized by officials of the htm on their occasional visits to the inside, by workmen of the Necropolis and their superiors who had some reason to descend to the htm, and by many among the workmen of the smdt n bnr who provided the village with fresh food, water, wood etc.

The alternative route had two advantages for the workmen over the old one; it was almost unguarded⁶⁵ and it led directly to the region of Medinet Habu. It was therefore utilized whenever the workmen marched out on strike or when somebody ascended from Medinet Habu on some urgent matter.

The very existence of an alternative path to the inside naturally neutralized the original purpose for which the htm had come into being. By that time, however, the htm had been transformed into a complex center of administration of p3 hr whose activity could be maintained independently of its original purpose. On the other hand, measures were taken to exercise some control over the ascents along the path to Medinet Habu. Those measures will be discussed in Chapter VI.

A possible substantiation for the idea that during Dynasty XX the htm was still situated in the vicinity of the Ramesseum can be derived from the Turin Papyrus "of the Gold Mines"⁶⁶. It is reported there, in a passage which is not very clear, that a portrait statue, or rather the bhn stone for preparing one, had been deposited in st-m3^ct near the Ramesseum and had been abandoned half-worked at p3 htm n p3 hr. The passage is datable to Dynasty XX⁶⁷.

65 The south-going path will not be discussed in this chapter because it is not directly linked with p3 htm n p3 hr and it cannot contribute towards a better understanding of that term. It will be dealt with, however, in detail, alongside with the term t3 5 inbt. See pp.135-136.

66 See n.2 No.14.

67 The recto mentions a year 6; the verso bears a cartouche of Ramesses VI (see Wente/Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 238). The recto is generally dated to Dynasty XX, though not necessarily to Ramesses VI (*ibid.*, 239 n.141). Ramesses IV would be a reasonable guess in view of the activity of that king in Wadi Hammamat.

Being situated in the region of the Royal Mortuary Temples, the htm lay outside the limits of p3 hr proper. We have seen however, that in every other sense p3 htm n p3 hr was an integral and essential part of the administration of p3 hr. This will be demonstrated in further detail.

The rdw (n p3 hr) n bnr have already been discussed and shown to have included two scribes and two chiefs of Police⁶⁸. The nature of their activities as well as their title leave little doubt about the position they occupied in the administrative framework. These people were the representatives of p3 hr in the dealings with the outside, especially with the central administration. By the same token, the central administration could use those officials as messengers or deputies in matters of p3 hr. It is therefore fitting that p3 htm n p3 hr should serve as headquarters for the activity of the rdw n bnr whom we have termed "members of the regional administration of p3 hr"⁶⁹. On the basis of this statement, we may assume that the aforementioned administrators indeed acted from p3 htm even in cases in which that detail is not specifically mentioned⁷⁰.

In a sense, the terms p3 htm n p3 hr, mryt, bnr become interchangeable when they occur in certain combinations drawn from the colloquial. However, since p3 htm n p3 hr is more localized than the others (even if we do not know its exact location at present) and is included in them, one may expect mryt or bnr to be occasionally used though p3 htm n p3 hr was intended, but not vice-versa. Thus, when the Vizier comes to the htm and as a consequence the workmen are summoned to mryt⁷¹, we may assume that they had gone to the htm as well, presumably to be questioned by the Vizier, but then, the arrival of the Vizier at the htm may have had as its only purpose to send the message and arrange for a meeting with the workmen elsewhere in mryt. When, in another document, the workmen were told to descend r mryt r p3 htm⁷², we cannot tell whether two different places were intended or just one, the htm, mryt being the general term for the region in which the objective htm was situated.

68 See above, p.78. See also, Černý, Community, 255ff.

69 Such is, in fact, the case in documents Nos.1,4,6,12,13,16,17,20,29,33. Officials of the central administration who were in working contact with those of p3 hr at the htm, such as the scribe of the vizier or of the treasury, figure in Nos.2,5,12a,18,23,24,26,39. (All the numbers refer to our n.2, above.)

70 This assumption refers only to the members of the "regional administration", i.e. the two scribes and the two chiefs of Police.

71 See n.2 No.30.

72 See n.2 No.39.

The issuing of the monthly provisions for the workmen of the Inside was the most important task of the officials of the h_{tm}. The mechanism of that activity is not entirely clear. From the frequent mention of the arrival of high officials at the h_{tm} for the purpose of issuing the provisions, we may gather that even though the goods were normally stored at the h_{tm}, the local officials had no authorization to distribute them on their own, that is without explicit orders and/or proper supervision by a representative of the central administration⁷³.

The gross calculation of the provisions to be issued was effected according to detailed lists which were updated monthly by the scribe of the Inside. The overall quantities were then being measured out at the h_{tm} according to those lists and were put aside for transfer to the Inside where the second stage, i.e. the further distribution to the individual families, would follow.

In order to enable the issuing of provisions on schedule and without unnecessary complication, the officials of the h_{tm} maintained a granary on the premises, and probably other storing facilities as well. The granary of the h_{tm}, also termed "the granary of p3 hr", is mentioned in the documents several times⁷⁴. Whenever provisions were lacking at the h_{tm} it was the duty of its officials to look for alternative sources, in the absence of which they were obliged to put the case into the hands of higher officials of the Vizier⁷⁵. Ostr.DM 114, a fictitious letter of the time of Ramesses II⁷⁶, exemplifies some of the procedures we mentioned above. It is addressed by the Vizier H^Cy to one of the foremen of p3 hr, i.e. to a representative of the "local administration". The foreman is urged by the Vizier to inquire about the provisions for the crew which come from the Treasury of Pharaoh: Hn^C ntk šnī p3 htrīw n t3 īst nty hr Pr-hd n Pr-^C3..⁷⁷ and you should inquire into the matter of the dues of the crew which (come) from the treasury of Pharaoh". Some problem had apparently arisen concerning those provisions and, as a consequence, the rdw n p3 hr, i.e. the members of the "regional" administration (of the h_{tm}) had written to

73 See n.2 Nos.5,6,23.

74 See n.2 Nos.2,37. For the "granary of p3 hr" see Ostr.DM 177,4; 252,2; 276,4, quoted in Janssen,CPRP,457.

75 The personal involvement of the Vizier in those matters is well attested. See for instance Gardiner,RAD,56.2-6; Wente,JNES 20,1961,252ff.; Janssen,CPRP,459; Eyre,Glimpses,181(e). See also Ostr.DM 114 and Ostr. Gardiner 13 which will be presently discussed.

76 See n.2 No.26.

77 Ostr.DM 114 rto.5.

the Vizier about it asking for his intervention. P3 wn h3b n.ṯ n3 rwdw n p3 hr hr p3y(t)n ḥtrṯw nty hr p3 Pr-ḥd n Pr-^{C3} C^C.w.s. r dd ṯmy ṯnt.f n.sn⁷⁸
 "because the inspectors of p3 hr have written to me regarding your dues which (come) from the treasury of Pharaoh L.P.H. saying: 'Cause that they (the dues) be brought to them'".

In another fictitious letter of the time of Ramesses II⁷⁹ we may follow the procedure of delivery when nothing was amiss. A scribe, who may have sailed south on duty aboard a ship which was carrying provisions for the workmen, informs the Vizier P3-sr that the provisions intended for p3 hr had been delivered "being absolutely complete and without arrears in it", that the rwdw n bnr had received them (the provisions) and had subsequently brought them to p3 hr for distribution. Sw3d n3 ḥtrṯw n p3 hr ṯw.f mh m-šs nn wn wḏ3 nb ṯm. ṯIw n3 rwdw n bnr šsp.f, ṯw.sn hr ṯtt.f r p3 hr⁸⁰. "Handing over the dues of p3 hr absolutely complete, containing no arrears. The inspectors of the outside received it and took possession of it (to be used) for p3 hr (or, brought it away to p3 hr)." In this example the administrators of the ḥtm act according to their duty, though we cannot be sure that the provisions were initially brought to the ḥtm. P3 hr is too vague an expression, especially when spoken by an outsider, and it might or might not refer to the ḥtm. If the goods were sent from the north, all prepared for delivery, they could have been transported directly to Deir el-Medina. Such a situation is however rather improbable since exact calculations of quantities according to the lists would have been required before the provisions could be released to the Inside. At any rate, the normal practice implied the counting out of the provisions according to procedure, at the ḥtm. Mentions of such cases are frequent, but mostly very brief, in the style: "Official NN went to the ḥtm to issue provisions for the crew"⁸¹.

The following extraordinary incident will serve to exemplify certain occurrences that took place at p3 ḥtm n p3 hr in connection with food distribution while introducing at the same time the second important aspect of that institution, as a meeting place between officials of p3 hr and their superiors⁸².

78 Ibid., rto.6-7.

79 Ostr.Gardiner 13 (=Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl.30).

80 Ibid., rto.4-6.

81 Cf. Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 rto.II,2; vso.II,8; Ostr.DM 380,2-3 with Ostr.DM 41 vso.10; Ostr.Cairo CG 25255,1-2 (=Allam, HOUP Plates, pl.29).

82 Turin Strike Papyrus (Gardiner, RAD, 55.15 - 56.11).

During year 29 of Ramesses III, following repeated complaints by the workmen, the three captains of the crew were presumably summoned by the Vizier on the occasion of his arrival to Western Thebes, in an attempt to appease them. The captains, having descended to the htm and having waited there for the Vizier's arrival in vain, a chief of Police was probably sent to see what was keeping him. The actual text starts with a mention of the departure of the Vizier and the arrival of the chief of Police at the htm bearing a message from the Vizier to the waiting captains that starts with an apology for his not having been able to come to them personally. From this part of the text, as well as from the main contents of the message which is composed in an appeasing style, we may feel confident that our reconstruction of the events that preceded the arrival of the chief of Police cannot be far from reality.

The episode which follows right after the report of the message is of special interest. Knowing that the Vizier had not forgotten his commitment and that he would try hard to find provisions for them⁸³ must have been of little comfort to the inhabitants of p3 hr who were already in need. Under these circumstances, having witnessed the frustration of the captains, the scribe Hrī of the regional administration of p3 hr decided to issue provisions amounting to half a month's rations on his own responsibility. Whether or not the decision to give out the provisions was his is not very clear; what is of import is the fact that the scribe offered to carry out that decision in a manner that was contrary to normal procedure which required the presence of higher officials during the distribution.

ꜥIꜥ ꜥn hry-Md3yw Nb-smn s3 P3y-nḥsy r dd n p3 III ḥwtwy n t3 ꜥst ꜥw.w C_h^C
hr p3 htm n p3 hr. Hr.f mꜥn3 m I3ty ꜥst ꜥ-ꜥr.ꜥ tm ꜥꜥ n.tn n nkt.....
ꜥIw sꜥ Hrꜥ n p3 hr hr dd n.sn dd n.tn gs dꜥw; hr ꜥw.ꜥ r dnꜥ.f n.tn ds.ꜥ⁸⁴

"The chief of Police Nb-smn son of P3y-nḥsy came to say to the 3 captains of the crew, as they were standing at p3 htm n p3 hr: 'Thus said the Vizier: "I had a reason for not coming to you (lit. It is for something that I did not come to you)".....' and the scribe of p3 hr Hrī said to them: 'There is given to you a half-ration. I will distribute it to you myself'".

⁸³ Ibid., 56.6.

⁸⁴ Turin Strike Papyrus rto.2,19-20 (Gardiner, RAD, 55.16 - 56.2); rto.3,4-5 (RAD, 56.6-7).

This took place either on IV Prt 28, the day of the abortive meeting with the Vizier⁸⁵, or on the morrow, the 29th. Three or four days later, on I Šmw 2, a distribution of two sacks per person was effected⁸⁶. That was obviously the final stage, during which the abovementioned half rations were handed over to the workmen at Deir el-Medina. This time it was the scribe of the inside, ʿImn-nḥt, aided by ʿImn-ḥ^c and Wsr-ḥ3t who carried out the distribution. The interval of two or three days had been probably spent in the preparation and transport of the provisions to the village.

Since the workmen had not been present during the incident at the ḥtm between the messenger of the Vizier, the scribe Ḥrī and their own captains, they must have criticized the fact that they were only getting half the amount due to them. Under such circumstances we can understand the reaction of one of those captains, Ḥnsw, who advised them to demonstrate en masse at the ḥtm, for he knew that nothing could have been achieved further, unless the Vizier himself became informed that a strike had broken out.

Ḥsbt 29 3bd 1 Šmw sw 2, dīṯ p3 ḥ3r 2 n bty n t3 ʾst m dīw n 3bd 1 Šmw ʾn ʿImn-ḥ^c Wsr-ḥ3t. Dd ʾn c3 n ʾst Ḥnsw n t3 ʾst: Ptr tw. ʾī ḥr dd n.tn Šsp dīw mtw.tn ḥ3y r mryt r p3 ḥtm ḥr ʾmy dd sw n3 ḥrdw n I3ty n.f.⁸⁷. "Regnal year 29, first month of the Third Season, day 2. ʿImn-ḥ^c and Wsr-ḥ3t gave the two sacks of emmer to the crew as dues for the first month of the Third Season. The foreman Ḥnsw told the crew: 'Look here, I'll tell you, take the ration and descend to mryt to the ḥtm and see to it that the Vizier's subordinates inform him of it (lit. cause the Vizier's children to tell it to him)'".

The usefulness of the ḥtm as a meeting place acted in both directions. We have just seen that the workmen of the Inside could complain or demonstrate there, but at the same time, the high officials of the central administration could use the ḥtm as an easy means to summon whomever they wished

85. RAD, 55.15.

86. Ibid., 56.8.

87. Ibid., 56.8-11. In this passage only ʿImn-ḥ^c and Wsr-ḥ3t are mentioned; later on, however, during his effort to dissuade the workmen from following the advice of the foreman, ʿImn-nḥt, the scribe of p3 ḥr of the inside, told them that it was he who had just given them half the amount of the provisions: Y3 dī. ʾī n.tn ḥ3r 2 n bty m t3y wnwṯ (RAD, 56. 14-15), "Why, I gave you two sacks of emmer in this (very) hour!" We may assume that the scribe of the inside was responsible for that stage of the distribution, while the actual work involved was entrusted to the workmen.

from the Inside, and have him promptly brought down to them to the htm or elsewhere⁸⁸. Apart from the convenience it offered, this method must have contributed significantly to the seclusion of p3 hr.

Whenever special distribution of goods to the workmen was called for, it was probably handled in much the same way as the monthly issue of grain. The image of officials of the highest rank such as the Vizier, the High Priest of Amon or one of the royal butlers, ascending to the Valley of the Kings carrying goods to be distributed there to the workmen, gives a rather distorted, and at best very rare, version of the normal procedure⁸⁹. Unless there were special reasons demanding the physical presence of such an official in the Valley of the Kings, he would not bother to visit the place. Instead, he would either summon the workmen to mryt or just send messages and orders by means of the htm⁹⁰.

The procedure may be made more comprehensible by comparing two instances of announcement of a royal succession. On the occasion of the accession of Ramesses VI, the Vizier (Nfr-rnpt) came to p3 htm n p3 hr and read to them (i.e., to the officials of p3 hr of the "regional" administration) a communiqué to the effect that Nb-m3Ct-RC *Imn-hr-hpš.f RC-ms-sw mry-Imn had risen as the great ruler of the whole land, and they rejoiced exceedingly⁹¹.

88 See n.2 Nos.1,6,26,31.

89 Ostr.DM 40 vso.5-6 (Černý,Ostraca DM I.pl.23) has: Hrww pn iī īr.n n3 wrw r sw3d p3 hđ n t3 īst.n.sn hr p3 htmw, "(On) this day the officials came to hand over to the crew their money at the htm". This handing over of the hđ, for which see Janssen,CPRP,499f., should not be understood as taking place in the Valley of the Kings. See also; Pap.DM 24,3 (=Allam, HOUP Plates,pl.87); Ostr.Cairo CG 25565,1-2 (Černý,Ostraca CGC,47*); Ostr.Cairo CG 25580,1-3 (ibid.,51*).

90 Describing the contents of our No.27 (see n.2, above), Černý comments: "Thus at a certain date in year 1 'the High Priest Ramessenakhte came to the entrance (of the king's tomb) with another letter for the gang' and two days later he came again 'to take the despatches to the place where the pharaoh was'" (Černý,CAH²,24). Since the "entrance" in question is a translation of p3 htm, we may suggest that the High Priest of Amon did not bother to ascend to the Valley of the Kings twice within two days, and that any correspondence to or from the inside could have been taken care of at the htm near the Ramesseum which disposed of means and personnel for conveying despatches to the necropolis and back. See also n.2 No.3; Pap.Turin cat.2044 mentioned in Černý,CAH²,9-10.

91 See n.2 No.3 (=Černý/Gardiner,H0,pl.68,1) lines 2-7.

On the other hand, when Ramesses III died, the Chief of Police Mntw-ms came (to say) to the people of p3 hr: (The) Falcon has flown etc. ...⁹².

The first example should be taken as the initial announcement by the high official to the representatives of p3 hr at the htm with the understanding that they would see to it that the crew should get the message. The second example mentions the second stage, that of the announcement to the workmen of the death of Ramesses III, by the official messenger of the htm, the chief of Police.

When the Chief Craftsman Rm came to Western Thebes on royal commission⁹³, he arrived at p3 htm. On arrival, he asked to speak with the captains of the crew. Consequently, the officials of the htm, i.e. the two scribes and the two chiefs of Police, came to p3 hr to announce the arrival of Rm and to cause the captains to be sent to the htm. Rm was not allowed to proceed to the inside to look for the captains, either in order to save him the trouble, or because of standing orders to prevent unnecessary entries to the inside. On the verso of Ostr.DM 114 we find a similar situation:

ʾIw.ʾi r dʾt ʾw sš smsw P3-sr m wpt r Nʾwt. Wnn.f hr ʾi n.tn r p3 htm n p3 hr ʾw.tn hr ʾi n.f ʾm...⁹⁴, "I shall send the Senior Scribe P3-sr on commission to Thebes. As soon as he comes to you to the htm of p3 hr, you will come to (meet) him there".

The meetings at the htm were not always initiated by the superiors. Ostr. DM 571 shows that some workmen had descended to the htm, had spent there the night, and had subsequently invited the High Priest (of Amon) to the htm n p3 hr to discuss some matter with them. ʾIw.w hr Cš p3 hm-ntr tpy /// ʾIw.f hr ʾi n(?) .sn (r) p3 htm n p3 hr ///⁹⁵, "They called the High Priest of Amon(?) and he came to them (to) p3 htm n p3 hr ///".

The third and last main function of the htm had to do with several aspects of the life of the workmen that could not be taken care of at the inside. The htm was regarded by the workmen as the seat of more influential officials than those who lived with them in the necropolis. They could

92 Pap.Turin Cat.1949 + 1946 vso.1 mentioned in Černý, VK, 15-16 (Kitchen, RI V, 557-58; VI, 880).

93 Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 vso. (cf.n.2 No.6). This whole passage will be discussed in greater detail when we shall be dealing with the term r n t3 ʾnt see below, p.148 Ex.7.

94 Ostr.DM 114 rto.9 - vso.2 (n.2 No.26).

95 See n.2 No.9.

therefore complain or seek justice there, at the knbt of the htm which could be also termed t3 knbt bnr⁹⁶. The administrators of the htm presided in such hearings, but at times the captains of the inside were part of that knbt as well. Dd ȳr.n sš Nfr-ȳtp (m) b3h t3 knbt hr p3 htm n p3 hr m dd:... c3 n ȳst Hnsw, sš-(kdw?) ȳImn-nȳt, p3 4 rwdw⁹⁷. "The scribe Nfr-ȳtp said (in) the presence of the knbt at p3 htm n p3 hr:....foreman Hnsw, scribe/ (draughtsman?) ȳImn-nȳt, the four inspectors".

Inhabitants of p3 hr could possess relatives who lived elsewhere, in the outside. Those relatives could not expect to be allowed into the village which was part of the inside. Letters and presents were regularly sent by means of people who came frequently to the village, but when need arose to meet personally, the htm could serve as the meeting place. "Drinking together" could take place during such meetings, from which women were not excluded. The texts are not sufficiently explicit to allow even a superficial understanding of the circumstances of such events. Ostr.Queen's College, Oxford 1115 is probably a list of goods sent by somebody to a woman residing in p3 hr. On several occasions, which coincided with different feasts throughout the year, provisions were sent to that woman with a person whose occupation took him regularly from the plain to the inside such as a policeman or a water carrier. On one or two occasions however, the supplier of the provisions actually met with the woman and gave them to her in person. The meeting place was p3 htm.

ȳIw.s whm ȳȳ r p3 htm ȳw.ȳ dȳt wc cȳ ȳw ky hr ht.f...⁹⁸ "She came again to the htm and I gave (her) a loaf of bread in which there was another...".

Meetings, probably of a different character, between a workman and a woman at the htm while the crew was at work, are mentioned in Ostr.DM 570. R rdȳt rh ȳ.tw rmtȳ-ȳst/// ȳ-wn ȳm swȳ ȳrm T3-Cnw...ȳw.w swȳ (hr) p3 htm p3 hr ȳw t3 ȳst hr b3k m st ȳtn⁹⁹. "Information (lit. in order to inform) regarding crew ȳmember(s) /// who had been drinking there with T3-Cnw.... and they drank (at) p3 htm p3 hr while the crew was at work in ȳthat"¹⁰⁰

96 See above, p.65 n.7.

97 Ostr.Michaelides 1, lines 1-2,5-6 (=n.2 No.12).

98 See n.2 No.35 (=Cerný/Gardiner, HO, pl.31.1 rto.3-4); Cf. Helck, Materialien, 656-57; Janssen, CPRP, 489 n.124.

99 Ostr.DM 570 lines 2-4,6-7 (see n.2 No.8).

100 Under proper supervision, the workmen of p3 hr could be employed for short-termed expert jobs at the htm. Pap.Bibl.Nat.237 I (2),5 mentions that draughtsmen were painting and chisel bearers sculpting the cartouches of Ramesses VI on a granary (see Cerný, Community, 234 n.8); A similar incident is mentioned in Ostr.Cairo CG 25563 rto.2-3

place".

An additional meeting at the htm in which there was drinking in company but also some financial transaction between two men, is mentioned in Pap. Turin Cat.1907/8: Rdī.tw n.f m p3 htm n p3 hr m dr īw.f r swī īrm sš pr- hđ P3- rds'....¹⁰¹ "There was given to him at p3 htm n p3 hr, when he came to drink with the scribe of the Treasury P3- rds'....".

We have mentioned the most important functions of the htm. The list has not been exhausted¹⁰² but the nature as well as the importance of that administration have been stressed. The evidence has consistently pointed in favor of a site in the plain, near the Ramesseum, awaiting the excavator¹⁰³.

(idem, Ostraca CGC, 46*). Though Janssen speaks of "a branch (of the Granary in Thebes) situated near the Village" (CPRP, 457), the only granary which was directly involved with the rations of the workmen was t3 šnwt p3 hr (Ostr. DM 252, 2; 276, 4; 177, 4) which was at the same time t3 šnwt p3 htm n p3 hr (see n. 74, above) and was obviously located at the htm. Therefore, īw t3 īst hr b3k m st tn can be taken as a reference to such an occupation at the htm.

¹⁰¹ Rto. II, 1-2 Janssen, JEA 52, 1966, pl. 16A (see n. 2 No. 18).

¹⁰² The door-keepers of the htm will be discussed in detail separately (see below, pp. 110-12). Additional information of some interest regarding the htm, though not characteristic enough, can be found in the following documents: n. 2 Nos. 20, 21, 24, 34, 36.

¹⁰³ The htm must have possessed an archive and some kind of journal must have been kept. None of the published documents seems to originate from the area where we suppose the htm was located, leading us to hope that the site may still exist somewhere, buried and untouched.

CHAPTER V: ꜥRYW-^{C3}

An entire chapter in Černý's A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period is devoted to the study of the so called "door-keepers" of p3 hr¹. It deals with the prosopography and chronology of the ꜥryw-^{C3} during the Ramesside Period and provides a definition of their function, a list of their activities and an evaluation of their status in the community of workmen. The subject is taken up here once again in order to check whether Černý's conclusions concerning the "door-keepers" are still valid in spite of the changes in the definitions of p3 hr and p3 htm that have been proposed in our earlier chapters². Such re-evaluation is particularly warranted in the case of the "door-keepers" in view of the close connection that existed between the nature of their activities and the identity of the institutions to which they were attached.

The title ꜥry-^{C3} "door-keeper"³, hints at what probably used to be the primary duty of those functionaries when the term was first attributed to them by the administration of the Theban Necropolis; our evidence shows, however, that by the time of the Ramesside Period their duties had changed considerably. The ꜥryw-^{C3} of the Ramesside documents of the necropolis were active officials who were involved in the routine of the community though never in matters that regarded the actual work in the royal tomb. They are shown performing their duties in various parts of Western Thebes, but the sites of tomb construction, the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, were significantly unfrequented by them. The abundant documentation concerning their activities gives the impression that they were much on the move, whether by themselves or escorting others, on official errands.

The following list is a summing up of the pertinent evidence. It should provide adequate substantiation for our statements; it should also serve to show that there is practically no factual support to the view that the ꜥryw-^{C3} were mainly employed as door-keepers of the Royal Tomb:

- 1 Chapter XIV, "The Door-keepers of the Tomb", pp.161-73; Cf.also de Meulenaere, Cdt 31,1956,229-302.
- 2 For p3 hr see above, p.16; for p3 htm see above, p.98 .
- 3 For the reading and the literal meaning of the term, see below, p113.

Seizing property of debtors by decision of the knbt⁴; acting as messengers between (high) officials of the administration and the people of the necropolis⁵; accompanying the foremen to recover stolen metal⁶; escorting a woman to the knbt of the Ramesseum⁷; descending as representatives of the workmen to collect their grain rations⁸; being present during the handing over of used copper tools to the authorities⁹; serving as witnesses to barter dealings¹⁰; being present as witnesses to oracles¹¹; assisting the superiors in their efforts to recall striking workmen who had descended to the region of the Royal Mortuary Temples¹²; being sent to offer presents to the Vizier on behalf of the workmen¹³; being responsible for the delivery of wood to the Necropolis¹⁴; spending days and nights in mryt¹⁵; organizing the mustering of auxiliary workmen¹⁶.

None of the abovementioned activities calls for any special training; the only skills or qualities required were physical fitness, trustworthiness and a good knowledge of the region and its inhabitants. Their status in

- 4 The document quoted in Černý, Community, 172 bottom is Ostr. Gardiner 54, and the passage is from vso.3-7. The ostrakon was published in Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 49,3; it was translated and commented upon by Allam in HOUP, 159-160 (no. 156), and by Helck in Materialien, 497-98. For an additional example see Černý, Community 173 n.1.
- 5 Ibid., 173 nn.3,4. Ostr. Petrie 73 mentioned in n.4 has been published in Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 66,3.
- 6 Černý, Community, 173 n.2. For this papyrus see Peet, GTR, pl. 17. Černý comments on the participation of the "door-keepers" in the team of officials who collected taxes for individuals and institutions (Černý, Community, 171-72 and np. 1-5 in p. 172). This activity was not among the duties of the iryw-3 of p3 hr during the period we are studying here. It became fashionable during the last reign of Dynasty XX at which time the whole picture had changed drastically. Before that time, there was no need for tax collecting of this sort by members of p3 hr since provisions were supplied to the community by the central authorities who had their own methods and manpower for collecting taxes.
- 7 Černý, Community, 173 n.11. Ostr. Berlin 14214 has been published in Allam, HOUP, 38 (No. 16); idem, HOUP Plates, pls. 17-19.
- 8 Černý, Community, 173 n.5.
- 9 Ibid., n. 12.
- 10 Ibid., n. 15.
- 11 Ibid., n. 17.
- 12 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,8 see Gardiner, RAD, 53.8.
- 13 Černý, Community, 173 n.6; Ostr. Berlin 12654 has been published in Allam, HOUP, 35ff.; idem, HOUP Plates, pls. 12f.
- 14 Černý, Community, 167 nn.4,5.
- 15 Ibid., 171 n.2.
- 16 Turin Strike Papyrus vso.2,8-19 see Gardiner, RAD, 49.4-12.

the community in which vocational training and excellence were valued, must have been accordingly low. I am therefore inclined to disagree with Janssen's statement that the texts show the iryw-c₃ to have been important functionaries and that their rations, as presented in the lists, are too low considering their status¹⁷.

While discussing the duties of the policemen of p3 hr, Černý remarked that common features may be detected between certain activities of the md3yw and of the iryw-c₃¹⁸; This remark however, was not taken into account in what seems to be Černý's conclusion concerning the main function of the door-keepers: "The door-keeper's main task" he writes, "is best described by the Turin Strike Papyrus: he it is 'who opens the closure'; 'the two door-keepers' are 'the door-keepers of the closure of the Tomb'. This Tomb was in the Valley of the Kings...."¹⁹. The conclusion, based upon no better evidence than the one presented in our quotation, is rather unexpected since it is obviously incompatible with the information obtained from the bulk of the documents as summarized above.

If there existed only two door-keepers at any one time²⁰, and if they had to guard the entrance to the Royal Tomb at all times, i.e. by day and by

17 Janssen, CPRP, 460. Janssen is not the only proponent of that idea; Helck (Materialien, 497) remarks that the "door-keeper" appears to hold a responsible post since he was the superior of the conscripted labor according to the Strike Papyrus (cf. n. 16, above). This, however, is a rather loose interpretation of the passage; the only connection between the iry-c₃ and the smdt that may be safely deducted from the said passage is that the former bound himself by oath to see to it that a certain number of workmen would present themselves for work.

As against 4 plus 1½ h3r received by an ordinary crewmember of p3 hr in a standard distribution datable to mid-Dynasty XX, the door-keeper received only 1 plus ¼ h3r (Janssen, *ibid.*). The low ration should be attributed not only to the lower status of the "door-keeper", but also to the fact (yet to be discussed) that he was practically an outsider, and that unlike the residents of p3 hr, his family was supposed to have additional sources of income since it probably resided in the fertile region of Western Thebes.

18 Černý, Community, 279.

19 *Ibid.*, 170-71. Elsewhere, however, he refers to them as "one or two 'porters' at the gate of the village" Černý, CHM I, 918.

20 Černý, Community, 171.

night²¹ and even after its completion²², they could be hardly available for any additional "off-duty" activity, particularly in places as distant from the Valley of the Kings as Deir el-Medina or the plain where the Royal Mortuary Temples are. But even if one assumes that they could become available somehow, should we not expect to find at least as much evidence for the exertion of their main task as one finds for "off-duty" activities?

Černý has presumably favored in this case a definition based upon what he considered to be a literal translation of their titles²³. Since however, the expressions p3 hr and p3 htm are contained in those titles, a different literal translation, one that may fit better the testimony of the documents, could be possibly derived by utilizing our alternative definitions for those terms. This possibility will be pursued in the arguments that follow.

Returning to the Turin Strike Papyrus, we read that on one occasion, a group of officials went to deal with the striking workmen; it was composed of: sš Pn-t3-wrt, p3 hry-md3yw 2, p3 (iry-) C3 2, n3 (iryw-) C3 n p3 htm n p3 hr ////²⁴. In this string of title bearers, there is no reason to suspect that the last element, n3 (iryw-) C3 n p3 htm n p3 hr, should be in apposition to the one immediately preceding it as Černý has suggested²⁵; the natural assumption should be that two distinct teams of officials, both of which happened to be (iryw-) C3, were involved besides the scribe and the chief policemen. p3 iry- C3 2 has been shown to be a shortened form for p3 iry- C3 2 n p3 hr²⁶. On the other hand, n3 iryw- C3 n p3 htm n p3 hr were, as their title indicates, "door-keepers" of the htm.

Following our reconstruction of the evidence regarding the status and the whereabouts of p3 htm n p3 hr²⁷, we are now in a position to propose that the "door-keepers" of the htm were employed by the regional administration of p3 hr at its headquarters in the plain of the Royal Mortuary Temples. Their employers must have been the superiors who ran that administration,

21 Ibid.

22 This assumption is imposed by the frequent mention of iryw- C3 during the later part of the reign of Ramesses III cf. ibid., 165-67.

23 iry- C3 n p3 hr (ibid., 161 n.1) and iry- C3 n p3 htm n p3 hr (ibid., 171 n.1).

24 Recto 1,8 (=Gardiner, RAD, 53.7-8).

25 Černý, Community, 162.

26 Ibid.

27 See Chapter IV, above.

the two scribes of the outside and the two chiefs of Police. In contrast, the other team of "door-keepers", p3 (iry-)^{C3} 2 (n p3 hr), were employed in p3 hr proper, i.e., the inside.

By adopting this view, one can solve yet another problem that was raised in Černý's discussion of the "door-keepers", namely that of the number of iryw-^{C3} who held office simultaneously²⁸. The evidence for exactly two iryw-^{C3} (n p3 hr) is undeniable since their number is explicitly mentioned; yet, at times, more than two "door-keepers" are securely attested in the documents, the most problematic period in this respect being the last part of the reign of Ramesses III. For that period, no less than five "door-keepers" are known: H^C-m-W3st, Pn-p3-irw, Pn-t3-Wrt, I3-^{C3}, and Wsr-m3^{Ct}-R^C-nht²⁹. The problem could have been easily brushed aside by pretending that for reasons unknown, there had been a temporary increase in their number, but for the embarrassing fact that the texts of that same period mention specifically p3 iry-^{C3} 2³⁰. Nor is one free to accept Černý's hint that only two of the lot were actually engaged in door-keeping while the others were busy doing odd jobs³¹. There is evidence to show that apart from H^C-m-W3st and Pn-p3-irw, (accepted by Černý as the official "door-keepers"), at least two others, Pn-t3-wrt and I3-^{C3}, were equally employed as "door-keepers"³².

When we realize that there existed two groups of iryw-^{C3}, those of p3 hr and those of p3 htm n p3 hr, and that p3 iry-^{C3} 2 refers uniquely to those of p3 hr, the problem ceases to exist.

The number of the door-keepers of the htm cannot be deduced from the documents at hand; judging from the passage of the Strike Papyrus that was mentioned above, there could have been more than two of them since the plural

28 Černý, Community, 166-67.

29 All but I3-^{C3} are mentioned in Černý's discussion of the problem (ibid., 167). For some reason, Černý has dated I3-^{C3} to a slightly earlier period, assigning to him dated documents of years 14 and 19 of Ramesses III (ibid., 166), but failing to recognize his presence during year 29 though the passage in question (RAD, 46.2-3) is of prime importance for his argumentation as will be presently shown.

30 Gardiner, RAD, 50.11; 53.8.

31 "Temporary 'auxiliaries' in charge of collecting supplies and delivering them to the workmen" Community, 167.

32 This will be made clear in the next few paragraphs.

is used. In fact, their number may have varied according to the needs. Not wanting to commit himself about their exact number, the scribe of the papyrus in question, who was probably 'Imn-nht of the Inside³³, did not specify.

We know that Hc-m-W3st and Pn-p3-iw were the two "door-keepers" of p3 hr during that period because the first is actually mentioned as such³⁴, whereas the second accompanies him as his partner in at least one text³⁵. The remaining three, I3-C3, Pn-t3-wrt and Wsr-m3Ct-RC-nht, should consequently be taken to be the "door-keepers" of the htm. That such was indeed the case can be partly demonstrated by means of two additional entries in the Strike Papyrus. Of I3-C3 it is said: nty wn p3 htm: I3-C3³⁶. The entry occurs as an item in a list of the smdt n bnr of the Necropolis which contains names and occupations³⁷. That list is followed by a second one³⁸ in which the same occupations are enumerated though the names of the workmen assigned to them are totally different. The term which corresponds to nty wn p3 htm: I3-C3 in the second list is: (iry-) C3 Pn-t3-wrt³⁹.

This parallelism⁴⁰ not only helps us deduce that Pn-t3-wrt held exactly the

33 Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 144-45.

34 Ostr. Berlin 14214, 7 (Allam, HOUP, 38 (No. 16); idem, HOUP Plates, pls. 17-19); Ostr. Berlin 10663, 3 (Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 223ff.).

35 Černý, Community, 166 n. 2.

36 Verso 2, 6 (Gardiner, RAD, 46.1-2).

37 The list starts in verso 1, 1 and has no heading; it includes water carriers, vegetable carriers, "wood-cutters", a washerman, a gypsum maker, a builder, fish carriers and a "door-keeper". These occupations are known to be exercised by the smdt n bnr of p3 hr (see Černý, Community, 183ff.; Gardiner, RAD, 46.7ff.).

38 The second list follows the first one immediately. It bears a heading as well as a date in year 29 of Ramesses III. The heading informs us that it was indeed a list of the smdt (n bnr). It starts in verso 3, 2 (Gardiner, RAD, 46.7ff.).

39 Verso 4, 8 (Gardiner, RAD, 47.3).

40 Černý regards those two lists as representing two shifts of the smdt (Community, 187). This seems to be the logical explanation of their parallel disposition in the papyrus; his remark, however, regarding the sign that follows the name of a fisherman (vso. 3, 23 = Gardiner, RAD, 47.5) that it might mean "stays on 10 (days)" (Community, 186 n. 3) cannot be taken as proof for the length of such a shift; in view of its occurring at the very bottom of a column, column 3 of the verso, while the list continues for ten additional lines in column 4, the sign could have been a warning to the reader to that effect, i.e., "ten (lines) left". A similar warning is found at the end of line 2 of the continuation of the list in col. 4 (pace Gardiner, RAD, 47a n. 15b) reminding the reader that this list is only a leftover from the previous column.

same post as I3-C3, but also that the verb wn served to describe the activity of the řry-C3. (The following additional conclusions will prove useful later on: a. The "door-keepers" of the htm were among the smdt n bnr. b. We are not free to postulate that the bare řry-C3 was borne uniquely by "door-keepers" of the inside).

The realization that řryw-C3 were being employed by the regional administration raises the question of the nature of their duties there. Among the documents mentioning the řryw-C3, some may be expected to contain information on this subject, but they are hard to tell apart from the ones that deal with the "door-keepers" of p3 hr proper, since, as we have seen, a bare řry-C3 could refer to members of either one of those teams. The only indication we have is the one contained in the clause: nty wn p3 htm: I3-C3. It is therefore with the verb written with the "strong arm" underneath a door leaf that the scribe could define that activity. But how are we to interpret that verb?

Černý has presented a convincing case in favor of the reading (řry-) C3 instead of wn(w) for the abbreviated title of the "door-keeper" written frequently just like the verb we are trying to define⁴¹. A separate substantive wn(w) existed, however, as Černý has admitted⁴², with roughly the same meaning; the latter, though rare, has the advantage over řry-C3 of being, in principle, convertible into a verb, the same verb that figures in the passage nty wn p3 htm, I3-C3. Since "opening something closed (blocked physically, or just of forbidden access) to introduce (after inspection)" is the main occupation of a door-keeper, the verb wn of the abovementioned passage may retain its normal value "to open" but should be understood in the particular nuance we have proposed. In order to become a fitting parallel of (řry-) C3, "he who 'opens' the htm" should be accorded the widest possible interpretation and should include, besides "letting in (after inspection)", also "warding off undesired individuals". However, the latter function may have not been particularly enforced at the htm for which the strict limitations of access observed in p3 hr proper need not apply.

Apart from these generalities, there is little one can say regarding the "door-keepers" of the htm. The meagre information we possess about them is only accidental, having survived among the documents of the administration

41 Černý, Community, 161.

42 Ibid., n.5.

of the inside, probably because of some connection with the affairs of that administration. Even then, as we have seen, these door-keepers can only be told apart when their full title iry-C3 n p3 htm is mentioned.

Turning now our attention to the "door-keepers" of the inside, we may assume that their duties were stricter and more varied than those of their colleagues at the htm, but basically the same.

Since the iryw-C3 n p3 hr are to be distinguished from those of the htm, and since the htm itself had no connection to the site of the royal tomb, there is nothing left to suggest that the "door-keepers" of p3 hr were employed at the Valley of the Kings. A much more acceptable setting for their activity is that of the settlement of Deir el-Medina⁴³. There it is that items were brought from the outside to be distributed among the families of the workmen, there it is that the houses to be searched for stolen property were situated, there it is that the woman who was escorted to the Ramesseum lived. It is from there, as we shall see, that the striking workmen used to march out⁴⁴, so that only if they were on duty there, could the door-keepers be aware of the situation and hurry to the htm to report the incident, as they did, and set out with the officials of the htm to remedy the matter⁴⁵. It is finally in the village that some emergency arose during the night-watch, which sent the iry-C3 on duty to the htm to ask for help and advice⁴⁶.

43 See n.19.

44 See pp.135-36, below.

45 Two groups of officials seem to be acting separately in order to persuade the striking workmen to return. One is composed of the three captains, the two deputies and the two 3tw-officers. Except for the 3tw, about whom our information does not lead to a definite conclusion, the others were officials of the inside. These tried to appeal to the workmen directly, during the early stages of the strike. Simultaneously, the two "door-keepers" of p3 hr must have been sent down to the htm to inform the regional administrators of the situation. At the more advanced stage it is the staff of the regional administration, i.e., the scribe, the two chiefs of police and the "door-keepers" of the htm, augmented by the two "door-keepers" of p3 hr who had brought the news, that take the matter over into their hands. For the first group see Gardiner, RAD, 52.16 - 53.1; for the second, *ibid.*, 53.7-8.

46 Ostr.Cairo CG 25264 for which see now Allam, HOUPLATES, pl.30. "...on this day a 'door-keeper' of p3 hr descended to the htm(?) saying: 'Robbers..'. 'Come to us to mryt', said the high officials..."

It should be however borne in mind that, being almost illiterate⁴⁷ and basically outsiders⁴⁸, the iryw-c3 of p3 hr (or of p3 htm) could only be expected to operate at the lowest level, taking no part in the actual administration of the village (or of the htm) other than doing exactly as they were told⁴⁹. They could be entrusted with simple well-defined errands but it is rather obvious that their physical strength must have been their most appreciated quality. Whether guarding the opening of the valley of Deir el-Medina (that is, the access to the village and to the path leading to the royal valleys), or carrying loads (wood, provisions, metal tools), whether serving as escorts and body-guards to officials on mission⁵⁰ or accompanying ordinary inhabitants of the village when allowed to leave (under escort) for the outside⁵¹, whether requisitioning goods from a workman's household, or being entrusted with valuable merchandise⁵², it had always to be some-body who could endure hardship and ward off an attack.

These "door-keepers", in contrast to those of the htm, participated in the monthly distributions of provisions to the inhabitants of the community of workmen. They are frequently mentioned in the lists in separate entries (to distinguish them from the workmen of the crew) following the female slaves⁵³. The coupling of the iryw-c3 with the female slaves is a fortunate one because it proves that the lists of rations could contain names and titles of recipients who were not employed in the actual tomb construction and its immediate administration⁵⁴. If women servants, who were not allowed in the working area any more than the regular female inhabitants of Deir el-Medina⁵⁵, were included, so could the "door-keepers" who, according to our suggestion, were employed to guard the entrance to the valley of Deir el-Medina.

47 This should always be the assumption unless there is proof to the opposite. The door-keepers should be able, however, to identify an official permit of entry.

48 The question of their dwelling place will be discussed presently.

49 In this respect the difference between the iryw-c3 and the s3wtj is noteworthy. For the latter see Černý, Community, 149ff. The promotion of "door-keepers" to "guardians" as suggested by Černý (ibid., 158, 168-69), should be therefore looked into with caution.

50 See above, nn. 6, 9, 12.

51 See above, n. 7.

52 See above, nn. 6, 8, 9, 13.

53 For several examples of such lists mentioning the iryw-c3 see Černý, Community, 162 nn. 8, 9; 163 nn. 1, 2.

54 For the female slaves in the community of workmen see ibid., 175ff.

55 Cf. ibid., 92 n. 5.

The "door-keepers" of the htm were members of the smdt n bnr and figure in the appropriate lists⁵⁶. As such they were presumably drafted from among the inhabitants of the region⁵⁷. One may therefore surmise that they did not actually dwell in the htm since they could easily reach their homes after each shift. Possibly the same was true for the door-keepers of p3 hr as well. There is no evidence that any particular house in the village of Deir el-Medina belonged to an iry-C3, neither is there a tomb or a private inscription of theirs, or mentioning one of them, that might indicate the existence of family links between the "door-keepers" and the inhabitants of the village.

Judging by the nature of their duties we have assumed that the "door-keepers" of p3 hr were trustworthy individuals, and yet we are informed that they could not enter freely into the village of Deir el-Medina. Ostr.DM 339 shows that a member of the crew of p3 hr who was on regular duty guarding the entrance to the village proper (p3 htm n dmꜣt) had complained against a door-keeper of p3 hr who succeeded in forcing his way past that entrance and down to the house of the scribe Wnn-nfr⁵⁸. It may seem strange that those who were entrusted with the security of the village and the path to the royal valleys would be denied free access to the village; the logic of the matter is, however, consistent with the principle of minimizing the contact between the inhabitants of the inside and outsiders.

⁵⁶ Unfortunately, very few lists of this kind have come up. This may be due to the possibility that the administration of the smdt was mainly in the hands of the officials of the htm the archives of which have yet to be discovered. "Door-keepers" of the htm are mentioned as such only in the two parallel lists of the smdt of the Turin Strike Papyrus (Gardiner, RAD, 46.1; 47.3). Černý wonders whether "indeed (the door-keeper) counted normally as a serf" (ibid., 189); His hesitation is reinforced by the fact that in the lists of Pap.Turin Cat.2018 which mention crews of both workmen and people of the smdt, the "door-keepers" are among the workmen (ibid., 189). The problem ceases to exist, however, when we consider the two groups of "door-keepers" separately. Those of the htm were part of the smdt whereas those of p3 hr enjoyed a special status being paid with the crew without really belonging to either the crew or the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. The situation in Pap.Turin Cat.2018 is somewhat different, since by that time the workmen were no more in the village (cf. ibid., 172) and the htm had ceased to exist as a separate administration.

⁵⁷ See above, n.16.

⁵⁸ This document is discussed above, p.96 with n.62 there.

The iryw-C3 were obviously "outsiders" inasmuch as they were in constant working relations with members of the smdt n bnr who regularly delivered provisions and other materials for the use of the community; moreover, since they probably had their homes in the area of cultivation in the plain, the door-keepers were not confined to the area of the inside. This situation is evidenced by a remark in a distribution list of provisions, which sets the door-keeper and the physician apart from the remaining recipients, qualifying them n bnr⁵⁹. N bnr in this context should be understood as "outsider, not living in the village" (we have already seen that this does not contradict their being n p3 hr)⁶⁰.

To account for the various "secondary" activities that have been mentioned in connection with the iryw-C3, we may assume that on their way up from their homes to Deir el-Medina they were accustomed to pass by the htm for instructions and information regarding pertinent forthcoming activities in the region. On that occasion they could take messages for the administration of the village, and sometimes they would even bring the rations which they would proceed to hand over to the captains of the crew for further distribution among the families. On their way down, presumably after duty, they could be joined by inhabitants of p3 hr who had been summoned out and had to be escorted there, or could be charged to deliver objects or messages to the officials of the regional administration.

In principle, the iryw-C3 were considered more dependable than ordinary men of the smdt n bnr and while the latter frequently served as porters of private errands for individual inhabitants of the settlement of the workmen, the iryw-C3 may be considered as official messengers of the inside.

On one occasion, a "door-keeper" of p3 hr swore that he would provide a certain amount of people to be drafted for the smdt (n bnr)⁶¹. This is an additional indication of the contacts the iryw-C3 had with the local population of Western Thebes.

By the fact that the iryw-C3 were frequently called to witness transactions or rather settlements of disputes between inmates of p3 hr and members of

59 Černý, Community, 170 n.4.

60 For the terms hnw, bnr see above, p.64 ff.

61 See above, n.16.

the smdt n bnr⁶², we may assume that the "door-keepers" were the intermediaries in transactions of this kind inasmuch as the members of the smdt n bnr were not allowed to contact the inhabitants of p3 hr directly.

Even though the iryw-C3 did not possess any dwellings in the village, there nevertheless existed a place named t3 st n n3 iryw-C3 located somewhere in p3 hr. That place is mentioned in Pap.Salt 124 as being the spot in which a son of the foreman P3-nb had taken refuge from his father⁶³. It is there, presumably in the presence of the "door-keeper" on duty, that he accused his father and brother of various crimes.

If our interpretation of the activities of the "door-keepers" is correct, the "place of the door-keepers" could be situated either in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina or in the htm. The son of P3-nb should be expected to live in the village and since the papyrus does not mention that he descended to the htm or that he left p3 hr for the purpose of reaching that place, we may conclude that the "door-keepers" in question were those of p3 hr and that the place was somewhere in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina.

62 Ostr.Berlin P. 10655,5 is an example of the prominent role played by the "door-keeper" in transactions between inmates and outsiders. In this case the promissory oath in a bartering agreement between a crew member of p3 hr and a member of the smdt bnr (a water carrier) was taken in the presence of the "door-keeper" after it had been taken in the presence of the captains of the crew (the two foremen in this instance). This incident should not be taken to mean that the door-keeper was the superior of the outsider just as the foremen were the captains of the crew member; it only implies that the door-keeper was the middle-man without whose assistance there would have been no transaction and it would have been quite difficult to guarantee the fulfillment of its conditions. For the text see Kitchen, RI V, 576-77; For a translation and commentary see Allam, HOUP, 30-32. For similar but less explicit examples cf. Ostr. Gardiner 137 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 56, 3); Ostr. DM 133 (Černý, Ostraca DM II, pl. 11).

63 This son cannot be C3-phṯy, as Černý would have us believe (Community, 171), since C3-phṯy himself is accused further on by that same son (see Černý, JEA 15, 1929, 243ff.). The entry about the "place of the 'door-keepers'" is in rto.2.1; the accusation of C3-phṯy is in rto.2.4. P3-nb seems to have had at least one additional son whose name was P3-nb like his father's, and possibly a third one named Nb-mḥyt. Černý who does not acknowledge any male progeny to P3-nb apart from C3-phṯy in JEA 15, 1929, 254 later does so in Community, 302, 303. In fact, British Museum Stela 49 (272) shows P3-nb with all his three sons (HTBM V, pl. 42).

We may imagine it as being a station where the ṛryw-^c3 on duty used to stay. We may furthermore assume that it was a prominent and easily accessible site, commanding the paths leading to the village. If the term ṛryw-^c3 had any significance at all, it ought to be situated at the entrance to the settlement. To reconcile all the abovementioned requirements, we should opt for a site outside the present encompassing wall, due north from the village, not far from the site on which the Ptolemaic Temple stands. The place could easily have been the one known by the name r n t3 ṛnt⁶⁴, "the entrance of the Valley" about which we shall have much to say in Chapter VII.

In his study of the plans of the royal tombs of that period, Černý mentions that two niches, on either side of the entrance to the first hall, at the far end of the fourth passage, bore the name: ṛt (ṛryw-) ^c3 2, "two door-keeper's niches"⁶⁵. This reminds us of the two black-stained statues of Tutankhamen, found standing on either side of the sealed door to his burial chamber, as if they were door-keepers. Even though the living holders of that post at Deir el-Medina were not required to stand guard in front of the village in a manner comparable to that of the statues, their booth must have stood there, nevertheless.

64 For this term see below, p.167.

65 Černý, VK, 28, 29 with n.1 in p.29.

CHAPTER VI: T3 5 INBT

The term inbt occurs occasionally in the documents of the Theban Necropolis in various contexts and orthographies¹. It has been claimed that though closely connected to the masculine inb, inbt had its own specific meaning the exact determination of which is still unknown². However, the current renderings "fortified enclosure; small fort; guardhouse; fortified gateway; sentry box" etc.³, convey the general idea and enable a ready differentiation between it and its masculine counterpart⁴.

Inbt as such, is not a term that was used in the Theban Necropolis exclusively; it occurs in texts referring to other places in Egypt as well⁵. There existed however, a local feature in p3 hr, which was known as t3 5 inbt⁶, or alternatively, n3 inbwt which had no parallel, as far as we know, anywhere else. By the nature of the documents that make use of this term and the context, we gather that t3 5 inbt was an important landmark in p3 hr and played a significant role in the lives of its inhabitants. It is in this feature that we are mainly interested here, though due mention will be made of other, individual⁷ inbwt of the Necropolis, as well.

The nature of t3 5 inbt, its(their) location and dating, have been investigated by several scholars but the views that have been expressed are rather divergent on most of the pertinent issues⁸.

The following list of examples contains as many mentions and references to the term inbt as I could gather among the documents of the Theban Necropolis, and such additional documents as will be needed for the subsequent discussion of the various aspects of this term.

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- 1 A list of examples and references has been compiled from the published documents of the Theban Necropolis. It follows these introductory remarks.
The basic orthography seems to be inbt. The final t is dropped in Exx.4,9-13,17,18. An additional n determinative occurs in Exx.1,2,13,18, 20. Ex.20 has the irregular form inbt.
 - 2 See Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 61 and n.4.
 - 3 See for instance Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 139 n.10.
 - 4 Cf. Wb. I, 94.15ff. and ibid., 95.10. Gardiner (AEO II, 213*) quotes unexpectedly both masculine and feminine entries of the word in the Wörterbuch though the word that figures in his Golenischef Onomasticon is twice spelled inbt (p.3,8;6,1 cf. Gardiner, AEO Plates, pls.9A,12A).
 - 5 For examples see Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 61 nn.4,5.
 - 6 The official name must have been t3 5 inbt n p3 hr. See exx.1,2.
 - 7 As distinguished from the collective t3 5 inbt.
 - 8 A detailed survey of the main theories follows the list of documents, p.126.

Ex.1: Turin Strike Papyrus, vso.3,1⁹.

Hsbt 29 3bd 2 Prt sw 10. Sn² t3 5 ²inbt n p3 hr ²in t3 ²st r dr.s ph p3
nfrw n t3 hwt Pr-^C3 ^C.w.s. ²in p3 III hwtw p3 ²dnw p3 3tw 2.
Gmt.w ²iw.w hms hr phwy n t3 hwt Mn-hpr-R^C m t3 w3t bnr.

"Regnal year 29, second month of the Second Season, day 10. The entire crew passed the five ²inbwt of p3 hr and reached the back part(?) of the Mansion of Pharaoh L.P.H.; The three captains, the deputy and the two 3tw-officers came(?) and found them seated at the rear part of the Mansion of Mn-hpr-R^C in the outside".

Ex.2: Turin Strike Papyrus, rto.1,1-5¹⁰.

Hsbt 29 3bd 2 Prt sw 10 hrw pn. Sn² t3 5 ²inbt n p3 hr ²in t3 ²st r dd: tw.n
hkr.n ²iw hrw 18 ^Ck m p3 3bd. ²Iw.sn hms hr phwy n t3 hwt Mn-hpr-R^C. ²I² ²in p3
sš n p3 hr hn², p3 ^C3 n ²st 2, p3 ²dnw, p3 3tw 2; ^Cš n.sn r dd: myn r hnw.
²Iry.w ^Cnhw ^C3yw²r dd² ²wt.tn wn m d².n mdww n Pr-^C3 ^C.w.s. Wrš m st tn sdr m
p3 hr.

"Regnal year 29, second month of the Second Season, day 10; on this day the crew passed the five ²inbwt of p3 hr saying: 'We are hungry, eighteen days will (still) elapse in this month'¹¹. They sat down at the rear part of the Mansion of Mn-hpr-R^C. The scribe of the guarded p3 hr, the two foremen of the crew, the deputy¹², and the two 3tw-officers came and they called to them saying: 'Come inside'. They swore great oaths saying: 'Please return, we have matters for Pharaoh L.P.H.'. They spent the day in this place; they spent the night in p3 hr".

Ex.3: Turin Strike Papyrus rto.1,6¹³.

Hsbt 29 3bd 2 Prt sw 11. Sn.w ^Cn. Ph p3 sb3 n drty rsy n t3 hwt Wsr-m3Ct-
RC(?)-stp-n-RC.

"Regnal year 29, second month of the Second Season, day 11: They passed them again; they reached the southern temenos gate of the Mansion of Wsr-m3^Ct-R^C-stp-n-R^C".

⁹ Gardiner, RAD, 49.15-18.

¹⁰ Ibid., 52.14-17; 53.1-3.

¹¹ Cf. Zába, ArOr 20, 1952, 642-45, but see recently, Janssen, OA 18, 1979, 306-08.

¹² Gardiner (RAD, 52a n.17a) restores the numeral 2 after the word for deputy. The restoration is based, however, upon a text dealing with a different incident, while our Ex.1, which refers to this incident, has no such numeral.

¹³ Gardiner, RAD, 53.4-5.

Ex.4: Turin Strike Papyrus rto.2,6¹⁴.

Hsbt 29 3bd 3 Prt. Snī n3 īnbwt īn t3 īst, hmsī hr p3 hr.

"Regnal year 29, third month of the Second Season: The crew passed the īnbwt, they remained in p3 hr".

Ex.5: Turin Strike Papyrus rto.2,11-12¹⁵.

Šm r snī n3 īnbwt hr phwy n p3 dmīt īn t3 īst īw īry p3 III hwt.yw hrw C3 r r.w hr p3 nšp n p3 dmīt.

"The crew proceeded to pass the īnbwt at the rear of the village¹⁶ after the three captains had shouted at them exceedingly (lit. 'made a great shout against them') at the gate(?)¹⁷ of the village".

Ex.6: Turin Strike Papyrus rto 2,15-16¹⁸.

Y3 bn ī-īrī.n snī n hkr.n īwn3, wn m dī.n wšbt C3t r ddt.s.

"Indeed, it is not because of our hunger that we passed (the īnbwt), we have an important accusation to make".

Ex.7 Turin Strike Papyrus rto.3,7-13¹⁹.

Dd īn C3 n īst Hnsw n t3 īst: Ptr, tw.ī hr dd n.tn, šsp dīw mtw.tn h3ī r mryt r p3 htm, hr īmy dd sw n3 hrdw n t3ty n.f. Hr īr kn sš īmn-nht dī n.sn dīw, īw.w dīt.w r mryt r mītt n p3 dd.f n.sn. Hr īr sn.w wct īnbt īw sš īmn-nht šm, īw.f dd n.sn: M īr snī r mryt.

"The foreman Hnsw said to the crew: 'Look, I am telling you, take the rations and descend to mryt and(?) to the htm²⁰. Moreover, cause the subordinates²¹ of the vizier to report it (the incident) to him'. Now, when Scribe īmn-nht finished giving them rations, they set out to mryt in accordance

14 Ibid.,54.13-14.

15 Ibid.,55.5-7.

16 The last part of this sentence is not translated by Edgerton (JNES 10, 1951,140).

17 To the examples of this word mentioned in Wb.II,339.10 (Belegst.II,494), now add: Ostr.Turin N.57002 vso.7 (Lopez,Ostraca Ieratici I,pls.4,4a).

18 Gardiner,RAD,55.11-12.

19 Ibid.,56.9-14.

20 Mryt, commonly translated "port", had a more specific significance in the language of the necropolis workmen. The term has been studied in Chapter III, p.79ff., and its connection with the īnbwt will be discussed in the commentary, below. Htm, another word of special local significance, was discussed in Chapter IV, p.83ff.

21 It is improbable that hrdw is meant here in its literal value. Allam, HOUP,311 n.1, proposes "Schüler". Cf.Brunner,Erziehung,10-11,36-37; Bierbrier,LNK,124 n.66; Groll,Scripta,37.

with what he²² had told them. Now, when they passed one ḫnb, the scribe
 ʔImn-nḫt went and said to them: 'Do not pass (the remaining ḫnbwt) to
mryt.'".

Ex.8: Turin Strike Papyrus, rto.3,14-15²³.

Ḥsbt 29 3bd 1 Ṣmw sw 13: Snḫ n3 ḫnbwt ḫn t3 ḫst r dd: Tw,n ḫkr.n. Ḥmsḫ ḫr
 phwy n t3 ḫwt B3-n-R^C-mry-ʔImn C.w.s.

"Regnal year 29, first month of the Third Season, day 13: The crew passed
 the ḫnbwt saying: 'We are hungry'. They sat down at the rear of the Mansion
 of B3-n-R^C-mry-ʔImn L.P.H.".

Ex.9: Ostr.Cairo CG 25530,1-3²⁴.

Ḥsbt 29 3bd 2 Prt sw 10 hrw pn n snḫ ḫr.n t3 ḫst t3 ḫnb ḫr p3y.w dḫw.

"Regnal year 29, second month of the Second Season, day 10. On this day
 the crew passed the ḫnb because of their rations".

Ex.10: Ostr.Cairo CG 25533 vso.10²⁵.

...n3 dḫw.Snḫ ḫnb ḫr n hrww ll.

"...the rations. Passing the ḫnb amounting to eleven days."

Ex.11: Ostr.DM 38,21-22²⁶.

Hrw 29 Nfr-ḫr ḫw.w snḫ ḫnb. C^rky ḫw.w snḫ.

"Day 29, Nfr-ḫr; They passed (the) ḫnb. Day 30, they passed (again)."

Ex.12: Ostr.DM 571,3-5²⁷.

Snḫ ḫr.n 4 ḫn(b) ḫw.w ḫr wrš ...p3 ḫtm n p3 ḫr bwpwy nw r.s.....

ḫw.w ḫr whm ḫw.w ḫ3y r mryt m ḫsbt 9 3bd 4 Ṣmw sw 26....

"Passing four ḫnb; They spent the day (at?) the ḫtm of p3 ḫr, but it was
 not observed..... They descended to mryt²⁸ once again on regnal year 9,
 fourth month of the Third Season, day 26²⁹....."

Ex.13: Ostr. CG 25831 rto.7-9; vso.1-3³⁰.

W^Cšrḫ ḫ3rt prtḫ m ḫsbt 1 3bd 2 3ḫt sw 20 ḫw.s.... dḫt Pr-C³ C.w.s. r n3

ḫwtwyḫn^C p3 s3wt. ʔIw.s ph t3 ḫnb.... ḫr p3y.ḫ nb rdḫt ḫw n3y.f rwd(w)

²² "He" obviously refers to the foreman, not the scribe.

²³ Gardiner, RAD, 57.1-2.

²⁴ Černý, Ostraca CGC, 30*.

²⁵ Ibid., 31*.

²⁶ Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl.19.

²⁷ Sauneron, Ostraca DM VI, pl.11.

²⁸ See note 20, above.

²⁹ Helck (Materialien, 585), mentions in his translation of the text, "day
 27" instead of 26.

³⁰ Černý, Ostraca CGC, 119*.

....sdm r.s.

"A widow's daughter left on Year 1, second month of the First Season, day 20. She....Pharaoh L.P.H. concerning the captains....and the guardian. She reached the ḥnb.... Let my lord send his inspectors (to) hear her deposition."

Ex.14: Ostr. CG 25832 rto.3-4³¹.

Ky swd3-ḥb n p3y.ḥ nb r-nty t3 st Pr-^C3 C.w.s. nty tw.ḥ....n3y.w ḥnbwt ḥtp..
"Another communication for my lord: The Place of Pharaoh L.P.H. which I ...
.. Their ḥnbwt fare...".

Ex.15: Ostr.Toronto A.11 rto.13-14; 21-22³².

T3 st C3 Pr-^C3 C.w.s., r-nty ḥt p3y.ḥ nb, m-šs ḥkr, n3 ḥnbw m sww ḥwd³ snb.
"the Great Place of Pharaoh L.P.H. which is under the authority of my lord,
is in excellent condition, the ḥnbw in the district are intact and secure".
ḥIry.ḥ md3yw n ḥmntt W3st, ḥw.ḥ s3w n3 n ḥnbw n t3y.f st C3t.

"I shall assign Medjay - policemen to Western Thebes and I shall guard the ḥnbw of his (Horemheb's) Great Place."

Ex.16: Pap.Chester Beatty III vso.4,3³³.

T3 st C3t n Pr-^C3 nty ḥt p3y.ḥ nb m-šs, n3y ḥnbw ḥtpw, bwpwy t3y nb ḥprw ḥm.
"The Great Place of Pharaoh which is under the authority of my lord is in
good order, the ḥnbw are in peace and no damage has occurred therein."

Ex.17: Pap.Turin 2083/178 rto.I,1-6³⁴.

Wsf. n t3 ḥst. šm r sḥpt t3 st Pr-^C3 C.w.s. ḥn n3 rwdw n p3 ḥr.sš ḥC-
m-ḥdt s3wty K3-drt ḥdnw ḥImn-nḥt s3 ḥ3y.... ḥnbw mḥt n t3 st Pr-^C3 C.w.s. in
ḥry-md3yw ḥ3ty-^C P3-wr-^C3....ḥr r.w r-š3^C m t3 st C3t n Pr-^C3 C.w.s. nfryt
r p3 k3mw....-ḥtp C.w.s. p3 ntr C3 nfryt r t3 ḥnt rsy r w^Crt n ḥCp³-^C3....

"The crew was idle. The inspectors of p3 ḥr came to inspect the place of
Pharaoh L.P.H....the scribe ḥC-m-ḥdt, the guardian K3-drt, the deputy
ḥImn-nḥt the son of ḥ3y.... the northern ḥnbw of the place of Pharaoh L.P.H.
by the chief of police and mayor P3-wr-^C3.... about them, starting from
the great place of Pharaoh L.P.H. down to the garden....ḥKing ḥImn-ḥtḥ p
L.P.H. the Great God, down to the southern wadi, as far as the district of
the inundation (the cultivated region)".

31 Ibid.,120*.

32 Gardiner et al., Theban Ostraca,16 g-k.

33 Gardiner,HPBM III.

34 Botti/Peet,Giornale,pl.14.

Ex. 18: Ostr.Gardiner 64, 2-3³⁵.

(sn) ʔr.n t3 ʔnb ʔw.f ʕm r-....s m p3y.s sb3 ʔw.f ʔnt.f....

"(He passed) the ʔnb and went to....in her/its door. He brought it away.."

Ex. 19: Ostr.Ashmolean Museum 1945.39, rto.17-18; 22-23³⁶.

Hr ʔr m dr snʔ Nb-wnnf t3 ʔnb....ʔw.f ʔʔ r p3y wd3.

ʔIw w^C ʔnb h3y m p3y.f wd3 ʔw.ʔ kd.f.

"Now after Nb-wnnf had passed the ʔnb.... he came to this storeroom".

"A wall came down in his storeroom and I (re)-built it".

Ex. 20: Ostr.Oriental Institute Chicago 12074 + Ostr.IFAO inv.2188, rto.8-10³⁷.

Dd.ʔ m ʔb.ʔ hm.f r mdww dd.ʔ n.f hr h3t whm.ʔ dd n.k Cn ʔ-rwʔ.k ʔnbt nh3 hr
///.

"I said in my mind: 'He is ignorant of the matter I told him formerly, I shall repeat to you again: 'It is (as) a wild-faced one(?) //// that you left the ʔnbt'".

Ex. 21: Ostr.Gardiner 7 rto.3-4;6³⁸.

Nty hr drʔw m p3 ʔnb rsy ʔmnty s 8 ʔr n 32. Nty hr dg3 ʔnr (m t3) snty nt
p3 ʔnb rsy s 5.

Nty hr dg3 m p3 ʔnb n ʔnr-hd n t3 ʔwnyt....

"Those who lay down (stones) in the south-western wall: 8 men. Total 52.

Those who plaster stone (at the) foundations of the southern wall: 5 men".

"Those who plaster (stone) at the limestone wall of the colonnade...".

Ex. 22: Pap.Anastasi V 20,1-3³⁹.

(Hr ʔr twʔ) hr spr r p3 htm ʔw.w hr dd n.ʔ p3 mry(n) ʔw hr h3st (r-dd) sn.
w t3 ʔnbt mht(t) n p3 mktl n Sty-mr-n-Pth^C.w.s. mry-mʔ-Sth.

"When I reached the border facility they told me: 'The groom has come from the desert reporting- They passed the northern ʔnbt of the stronghold of Sty-mr-n-Pth L.P.H.- Beloved like Seth".

Ex. 23: Pap.Salt 124 (=Pap.BM 10055)vso.1,5⁴⁰.

Mtw.f hpr ʔ-ʔr.f ʕm hr d3d3 n n3 ʔnbw ʔw.f hr hw3 dbwt n n3 rmt.

"And his getting into the habit that whenever he walked atop the walls he would throw bricks at the people."

35 Černý, Gardiner, H0, pl.49,2.

36 Ibid., pl.72,1.

37 Ibid., pl.78.

38 Ibid., pl.22,1.

39 Gardiner, LEM, 67.3-5.

40 Černý, JEA 15, 1929, pl.45.

Based upon his interpretation of p3 hr as "the tomb of the reigning king" Černý concluded that t3 5 ĩnbt n p3 hr were five walls that surrounded the entrance to that tomb when work was in progress⁴¹. Elsewhere⁴², while arguing in favor of the equivalence between the terms p3 hr and t3 st Pr-C3, he utilized a passage mentioning t3 ĩnb(t) mht(t) as if that term was identical to t3 5 ĩnbt or part of it.

A variation of the same view is apparently held by Goedicke⁴³, who renders ĩnbw(sic) by 'the temporary closing of a tomb from the time of its completion until its occupancy'. This rendering stems, however, from an erroneous interpretation of the pertinent passage in Ostr.DM 38⁴⁴ since crky is not an epithet qualifying ĩnb(t) but rather the term for the last day of the month⁴⁵.

Edgerton, though adhering to the traditional translation "walls"⁴⁶, expresses his own viewpoint on the nature and location of t3 5 ĩnbt as follows: "I conceive the five ĩnbt of the Necropolis (or the Tomb?) as five small forts or guardhouses or fortified gateways which had to be passed successively by anyone following the valley route to or from the Tombs of the Kings, but various other interpretations are possible"⁴⁷. This interpretation is in significant variance with the one proposed by Černý; Instead of an enclosing, continuous, wall-like obstruction to free passage, Edgerton has opted for something more akin to a guarded inspection station. As against the proximity between the five walls and the entrance to the royal tomb that is sensed in Černý's description, one imagines Edgerton's five small forts to be more widely separated from one another, and to have no direct connection with the specific tomb under construction. In fact, according to Edgerton, t3 5 ĩnbt were not situated in the Valley of the Kings proper, but along the wadi leading from it to the plain. The immediate advantage of this view is that it does not presuppose that a new set of five walls was needed for each royal tomb that was being prepared.

41 Černý, CAH², 19.

42 Idem, Community, 71.

43 Goedicke, JEA 49, 1963, 83.

44 See Ex. 11.

45 The ostrakon in question is a journal covering the period of a full month and is followed by Ostr.DM 39 whose entries start at the first of the following month.

46 This rendering is mainly due to Gardiner who has treated the subject on more than one occasion, see above, n.4.

47 Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 139 n.10.

Thomas supports Edgerton's proposition regarding both the nature and the location of the ?nbwt⁴⁸, though on one occasion she claims that they were situated, along with other structures, in the valley itself⁴⁹, meaning the Valley of the Kings. Her handling of the problem carries it a step further in two different directions.

a. She views those five enclosures as part of a more complex network of defences of the Theban Necropolis. In that connection, she mentions additional structures of the type ?nbt which she locates in the Valley of the Kings proper⁵⁰, the Valley of the Queens⁵¹, and surrounding areas⁵². Among those defences she singles out one building which she defines as fortress, claiming that according to the inscriptions it was situated in the Valley of the Kings; the building in question is p3 htm n p3 hr⁵³.

b. She occasionally points at actual remains of ancient constructions from various locations in the Theban Necropolis, and proposes to identify them with individual ?nbwt⁵⁴ (to be distinguished from the five particular ones termed t3 5 ?nbt which she is unable to trace in Wadiyen, the only wadi that connects the Valley of the Kings with the plain). Thomas admits however, that owing to intensive archaeological activity that has taken place in the Valley of the Kings, leading to indiscriminate demolition of stone huts, walls etc., any hope to obtain an overall picture about the disposition of the ancient defences should be abandoned⁵⁵.

The idea of having individual ?nbwt dispersed in and around the Valley of the Kings concords well with Thomas's proposition that the official name of that valley was p3 hr hnt n hnw which she translates by "the guarded Necropolis of the Interior"⁵⁶. In just the same trend of thought, believing that the natural counterpart of the Valley of the Kings should be the Valley of the Queens, and pointing to existing ruins of enclosures resembling sentry boxes there as well, Thomas wonders whether the latter valley did not possess a comparable official name *p3 hr hnt n bnr, unattested in the documents, in addition to the familiar t3 st-nfrw⁵⁷.

48 Thomas, RNT, 51, 68 n.5.

49 Ibid., 58.

50 Ibid., 51; idem, JEA 49, 1963, 61.

51 Idem, JEA 49, 1963, 61 and n.6.

52 Idem, RNT, 52, 58.

53 Ibid., 50, 58.

54 Ibid., 51.

55 Ibid., 58, 61.

56 Idem, JEA 49, 1963, 62D, Ea, F.

57 Ibid., 62-63.

Our view of the question of the official names is different as regards the meaning of the qualifiers n hnw and n bnr⁵⁸. However, the addition hn?/hnr to the basic term p3 hr, may indeed reflect a situation such as proposed by Thomas.

So far, the only point of agreement among the abovementioned views, is that t3 5 ?nbt were topographically connected somehow to the Valley of the Kings. A quite different opinion was expressed by Peet, who, despite a certain hesitation regarding the whereabouts of p3 hr⁵⁹, seems confident in his conclusion on the matter of t3 5 ?nbt: "...these walls must have run close by the village of the workmen"⁶⁰. The walls that Peet had in mind were not small independent fortified units; if one can judge from his statement that the Necropolis was surrounded by five walls⁶¹, he must have regarded them as a series of monumental structures, resembling city fortification walls.

The theory which equates t3 5 ?nbt with fortification walls has been contested as we have seen, by Edgerton and particularly by Thomas. What those scholars have objected to, was the existence of a series of five such walls situated in the Valley of the Kings. It would seem that if that much is objectionable, Peet's suggestion that the same walls encompassed not only the Valley of the Kings, but even extended as far as Deir el-Medina, is all the more so. Meticulous excavations at Deir el-Medina have unearthed what is basically a single wall around the village⁶², but nothing of the scale hinted in Peet's brief remark.

Combining the negative archaeological evidence with the grammatical and lexicographical information provided by Thomas⁶³ and Gardiner⁶⁴ respectively,

58 The terms n hnw and n bnr as used in the colloquial of the workmen should probably be interpreted differently, see above, pp.65-66. However, Thomas's claim that some connection should be sought between the use of the adjective hnr and the evidence of fortifications in various places of p3 hr is valid. For the term hn? p3 hr, see above, p.66, below, p.181.

59 Peet, GTR, 11, 12.

60 Ibid., 12.

61 Ibid.

62 The reference to "plusieurs enceintes" in Valbelle, "Deir el-Medineh" in Helck/Otto, LdA I, 1029; Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 430ff., is to consecutive stages of the enclosing wall, and not to many walls in use at any one period.

63 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 61.

64 Gardiner, AEO II, 213*. The word occurs in a sequence of terms following sbtj (No. 444). Among them are tsmt, ?nbt, wršt, mktr, kr? all of which are self-contained fortified units for purposes of defence and inspection.

there can be little doubt that t3 5 ꜥnbt were the kind of small fortified units that Edgerton had in mind. This conclusion, however, does not invalidate in the least that part of Peet's statement which claims that t3 5 ꜥnbt were situated in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina, since it does not stem from his overall view on their nature, but rather on solid documentary evidence that has not been refuted as yet⁶⁵. Thus even on that one point, the general area in which t3 5 ꜥnbt was located, universal agreement has not yet been achieved.

This state of affairs is mainly due to the fact that the documents of the Necropolis do not provide straightforward information concerning t3 5 ꜥnbt, save for their obvious connection to p3 hr; Presumably, this specific group of constructions was too prominent in the landscape of p3 hr to necessitate detailed descriptions, while the uniqueness of their grouping and function, alongside a possible emotional attitude of the workmen towards these familiar structures, resulted in nothing but their bare mention in the documents. If any characteristics of those constructions are to be determined allwithstanding, the general context of the pertinent documents should be checked for possible indirect information.

To make proper use of the documents, measures should be taken to avoid confusion between references to t3 5 ꜥnbt on the one hand, and to other ꜥnbwt on the other. The differentiation is not always easy in view of the frequent use of n3 ꜥnbwt which can either be a variant of t3 5 ꜥnbt, or the defined plural of ꜥnbt in general. Some confusion with ꜥnb is also possible because of varying and sometimes elliptic orthographies⁶⁶.

Examples 1 and 2⁶⁷, both from the Turin Strike Papyrus, are the only instances in which the term t3 5 ꜥnbt n p3 hr is written out in full. They will serve as a starting point for our investigation.

Both passages refer to the same incident since they bear the same date, II Prt 10 (of year 29 of Ramesses III), and both mention a walkout of the entire crew of Necropolis workmen in protest. Far from being a coincidence, the coupling of the actions of walking out (passing the five ꜥnbwt) and of protesting is a consistent feature in our examples, showing that to initiate a strike, there had to be a passing of the ꜥnbwt by a significant body of

⁶⁵ Peet mentions our Ex.5 to be discussed presently.

⁶⁶ See n.1, above.

⁶⁷ The numbers given here and throughout this discussion refer to the list of examples, pp.121-25.

workmen⁶⁸. Under those circumstances, one may visualize the five ʔnbwt as a complex of structures which marked the limits of the realm within which the workmen were free to circulate.

Had they limited their protests to the mere passing of the ʔnbwt, we might have never got to know their location. Fortunately, such passings were almost always followed by a gathering of the striking workmen near one of the Royal Mortuary Temples, displaying a marked predilection for the ones that lay at the southern part of the edgeline of cultivation in Western Thebes⁶⁹. This fact in itself leads to the assumption that the watchposts in question were situated in an area which commanded the main path from p3 hr to that specific region.

The main drawback in Černý's and Goedicke's interpretations of the five ʔnbwt lies in the implication of close proximity between the ʔnbwt and the royal tomb that they contain⁷⁰. If one were to accept Černý's suggestion, he would have to concede that the workmen used to pass t3 5 ʔnbt twice a day at least on working days, on their way to work and from it, inasmuch as they did not spend the nights in the royal tomb, nor, as far as we can tell, in its immediate premises⁷¹. If crossing the five "walls" were routine activity, as this view seems to suggest, then this same act could hardly have served as a mark for a walkout, unless it was done during working hours, in defiance of regulations. Had that been the case, the texts would be bound to emphasize the time of the day upon each mention of a crossing. Instead, we see that the incident of exx. 1 and 2 happened on the tenth day of the month which was invariably a weekend (or rather, decade-end) day⁷². Such days were spent by the workmen with their families in the village at Deir el-Medina.

What is more, on year 29 of Ramesses III the Royal Tomb was no more the center of activity of the Necropolis workmen. Chances are that if they

68 This is specially evident in Exx.2,6,8,9,11.

69 Mortuary temples of the following kings are mentioned in connection with strikes of the workmen: Tuthmosis III (Exx.1,2); Horemheb (Ostr.Berlin P.10633 see Allam,HOU,29); Seti I (Gardiner,RAD,54.11); Ramesses II (Ex.3;RAD,51.15,53.6); Merneptah (Ex.8); Ramesses III (Ex.1). The temple of Seti I lies in the northern part, but one cannot be certain that a strike is contemplated in that passage (cf.p. 92 n.50).

70 See nn.41,43, above.

71 Valbelle, "Deir el-Medineh" in Helck/Otto, LdÄ I, 1030 and n.48.

72 Černý, CAH², 18; Helck, JESHO 7, 1964, 160-62.

were still active in tomb construction at all, it would rather be that of a royal prince, most probably in the Valley of the Queens⁷³. Since nobody has claimed as yet that t3 5 inbt might have enclosed the construction area of princely tombs, to accept Černý's suggestion one would have to assume that in order to walk out on strike, the workmen would have to leave their actual working area, march to the royal tomb, cross the five walls that enclosed its entrance and only then reach the mortuary temples in the plain. There is no evidence whatsoever of such an itinerary.

These reflections in themselves, based on but two occurrences of the term, tend to disprove not only the views held by Černý and Goedicke, but also, to a certain extent, those put forward by Edgerton and Thomas. The latter, as we have seen, place the five watchposts on the way from the Valley of the Kings to the plain via Wadiyen. One would need some very definite proof in order to accept that the group of strikers went all the way from Deir el-Medina where they were spending their decade-end, or even from the Valley of the Queens, to the Valley of the Kings in order to cross the watchposts and emerge, after a long walk in Wadiyen, at the northernmost ex-

73 One would expect the royal tomb to be ready long before year 29 of its owner's reign. In the case of Ramesses III we have abundant evidence about side activities that were assigned to the necropolis workmen every now and then, during the last ten years of the reign, showing that their presence at the site of the royal tomb was not necessary any more. Dated ostraca found by Schiaparelli in the Valley of the Queens bear evidence to the transfer of activity that had taken place from the Valley of the Kings to that region as early as year 22. That activity seems to have reached its peak in year 24. The arguments presented by Schiaparelli (Valle delle Regine, 168-81) are now easier to follow since many among the ostraca in question were published in Lopez, *Ostraca Ieratici I-III*. Several tombs were erected there for the royal children during that general period: QV 44, 55, 42, 53 (see Thomas, RNT, 219ff.) following a precedent set by Ramesses II (Pap. Abbott 5, 3). As late as I 3ht 17 of year 28, a construction for a prince was being founded in st C3t. This has been interpreted by Wente as a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (JNES 32, 1973, 223ff.). Five months later, the workmen were "collecting the cut lengths of the rope of papyrus which had been in the four hnw of the two princes, into the storehouse" (Ostr. Turin N. 57007 rto. cf. Lopez, *Ostraca Ieratici I* pl. 8, 8a). The activity of the crew during the days preceding the strike of II Prt 10 of year 29 is hard to establish. They had been working intermittently at an unspecified site. On day 4, i.e., six days before the walkout, a conflict between the officials of the inside and the scribes of their regional administration had to be settled formally in the presence of the whole crew, most probably at Deir el-Medina (Ostr. Turin N. 57007 vso., ibid.). On the very day of the strike, the appointment of a new gypsum maker is mentioned (Ostr. DM 330, 1-2 see Černý, VK, 38). This fact, however, does not affect the crew proper and does not hint at the site and the nature of their work.

tremity of the line of royal mortuary temples, and then return southwards to the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, rather than walking directly to that temple via the Ramesseum⁷⁴. In fact, ex.1 provides a valuable hint in favor of the short route; After having mentioned the passing of the five inbwt and before going into the details about the stationing of the workmen near the temple of Tuthmosis III and the activity of the officials that ensued, there is a short remark as follows: Ph p3 nfrw n t3 hwt Pr-C3. Judging from other instances in which the verb ph is utilized in connection with similar walkouts, and in the absence of any alternative subject for ph, we have to admit, despite Edgerton's misgivings⁷⁵, that the striking workmen had reached a part of Medinet-Habu before they finally settled near the temple of Tuthmosis III. It is probably worth while noting that the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, though slightly to the north of the Ramesseum, is the northernmost site mentioned in connection with passing t3 5 inbt⁷⁶, while the instance on which a march to the temple of Seti I was proposed, is the only one that does not make mention of wall passing⁷⁷.

74 To compare distances and directions check Fig.1.

75 Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 143 n.44.

76 It has been generally accepted that t3 hwt Mn-hpr-RC refers to the monument also known by the name of hnkt-Cnh (PM2 II, 426ff.). That, however, was only one out of several temples and chapels built by Tuthmosis III in Western Thebes. Leaving aside the ones that were situated at Deir el-Bahari which do not seem to have served as mortuary monuments, there are still three monuments to consider: The mortuary temple of Tuthmosis II which was enlarged by Tuthmosis III (ibid., 456-57); the Eighteenth Dynasty temple within the premises of Medinet-Habu (ibid., 466ff.); a chapel of Tuthmosis III near the village of Deir el-Medina (PM2 I/2, 690-Chapel II).

The addition m t3 w3t bnr in our Ex.1, after the mention of the mortuary temple, does not necessarily refer to the verb hmsi. It may be a further indication of the specific temple which the scribe had in mind (cf. pr Wsr-m3Ct-RC-mry-Imn C.w.s. p3 dmi hr t3 w3t imntt mr imntt, abbreviated as Pr Wsr-m3Ct-RC-mry-Imn C.w.s p3 dmi m mr imntt in Pap. Harris I, 51a.5; 51b.4-5). Unfortunately, we do not know where t3 w3t bnr was situated or whether it only meant "the Outside" (cf. Botti/Peet, *Giornale*, pl.12,6). In principle, our third alternative should be excluded since the village and its surroundings was part of the "Inside" (see above p.64), but the others should not be overlooked. In case one of them was intended, the topographical proximity between the mortuary temples of Ramesses III and of Tuthmosis III mentioned in our examples may have been even greater in which case the Ramesseum would become the northernmost temple to be mentioned in connection with passings of the inbt.

77 Gardiner, RAD, 54.11.

In view of the foregoing, Peet's suggestion that the five ꜥnbwt ought to be connected with the village of the workmen becomes a definite possibility.

Example 9 is an additional mention of the same incident of Year 29, II Prt 10, this time from a Cairo ostrakon. It contains the welcome information that what is known as t3 5 ꜥnbt n p3 hr from the Strike Papyrus, could also be termed t3 ꜥnb(w). Based upon this information we may feel confident to interpret all passings of ꜥnbwt as an indication of protest, and particularly those that were followed by demonstrations in or near one of the Royal Mortuary Temples, as crossings of the particular complex of watchposts officially known as t3 5 ꜥnbt n p3 hr, even if the text contains some abbreviated form thereof. Such incidents are mentioned repeatedly for subsequent dates in Year 29 of Ramesses III in the Turin Strike Papyrus (exx.3-8) and provide additional information on the location of those watchposts.

Examples 2 and 3 inform us that after having spent the day of the tenth of II Prt at the plain, the workmen had returned to p3 hr for the night, but that they had walked out again on the eleventh, passing the watchposts anew. This time they settled in the vicinity of the Ramesseum. One may imagine that the workmen who were on strike because of hunger⁷⁸, had not succeeded to convince the officials to provide them with their rations on their first day of strike, and had consequently decided to carry on their protest on the following day, in a more prestigious site. Not wanting to spend the night in the plain, for reasons unknown to us, they had returned temporarily to p3 hr. Under those circumstances one can hardly see any reason for the workmen to return to the Valley of the Kings, or to pass through that valley on the following morning in order to cross the watchposts on their way through Wadiyen to the Ramesseum. Apart from the fact that this would have been an illogically roundabout way, it can be argued that this time we know for a fact that they had not been at work on the previous day and therefore had no reason to spend the night in the vicinity of the Valley of the Kings. Deir el-Medina would have been the most logical place for them to spend the night in, because it offers the advantage of being readily accessible from that region of the plain, and the comfort of being able to spend the night at home. However, the text remains vague on this issue using the general term p3 hr, probably as an antithesis to st tn which may refer to the plain in general or to the vicinity of the temple of Tuthmosis III. We have

⁷⁸ See Exx.2,9.

already seen that p3 hr can be used for any place within the realm of the workmen, including Deir el-Medina⁷⁹.

Example 5 is even more enlightening. The watchposts were about to be passed once again by the workmen, but this time they intended to do so via the rear part of the village after having met with open resistance in their attempt to leave through the main gate(?) of their settlement. In other words, a walkout that had been planned according to what had become by then a routine itinerary had met with some resistance on the part of the superiors, and an alternative route had been followed by the strikers. That it was in fact a strike, follows from the outright adversity between workmen and superiors that ensued and by the motives that were eventually put forward by the protesting workmen⁸⁰. Several points in this passage are pertinent to our investigation.

a. By emphasizing the fact that they were about to leave through the rear rather than through the front, the text virtually admits that the regular way of walking out had been through the front. If the previous walkouts had been effected from the Valley of the Kings, or from anywhere else for that matter, we would expect the stress to be placed on the peculiarity of using p3 dmꜛt as the starting point rather than specifying the gate through which they intended to leave. It might be argued that šm r snꜛ n3 ꜛnbw could conceivably refer to a walk all the way up to the Valley of the Kings after having left the village in one way or another, in order to pass there the watchposts on the way out to the plain. Such an argument however, has nothing to rely on, since we know that in order to find the appropriate officials who might listen to their grievances, the workmen would have to reach Medinet-Habu.

b. The information that the workmen would have to pass the ꜛnbwt despite the fact that they were about to leave the village from its rear side is worth looking into further.

Assuming that the watchposts were situated in the vicinity of the village, obviously on the path leading from it to the plain, and assuming further, with Edgerton and Thomas, that these were not massive walls encircling the village, one is still left wondering whether the five ꜛnbwt guarded the path leading north-east, from the front of the village to the vicinity of the Ramesseum, or, alternatively, the one leading south and then east,

79 For Deir el-Medina as part of p3 hr see above, p.14(4).

80 Gardiner, RAD, 55.9-12.

starting from the back of the village and emerging near Medinet-Habu⁸¹. Since neither this example, nor any other among those quoted above, provides an answer to this specific question, we can only resort to speculation.

Granted that the main function of the watchposts was to provide the means for keeping an eye on the comings and goings from the plain to the region of p3 hr and vice-versa, since the two paths mentioned above were the only practical direct ways of access to that region of p3 hr from the plain, and since we have no evidence whatsoever for a second set of such posts, it stands to reason that whoever had an interest in keeping the population of Deir el-Medina under control had taken measures to seal up efficiently the access from the village to one of those paths while erecting the watchposts along the remaining one.

The present situation of the ruins at Deir el-Medina, though far from reflecting the state of affairs during the Ramesside period, shows that the area extending towards the North-East could have been obstructed by chapels, houses or just walls, more effectively than the southern outlet could⁸². Moreover, t3 5 inbt may well have been an innovation introduced during the reign of Ramesses III inasmuch as there is no hint to their existence in documents of earlier reigns⁸³ (individual fortified posts are attested

⁸¹ See fig.1.

⁸² Following the seasons of excavations by Bruyère, the results of which were published in a series of FIFAO volumes (Bruyère, Fouilles DM, 19 vols), Sauneron, and later Valbelle with Bonnet have taken up the archaeological investigation of the village and its surroundings once again. Their results are being regularly published in the BIFAO. For a rather convincing photograph of the northern section of the village including the various constructions outside the walled settlement and showing that the north wadi could have been easily obstructed see Leclant, La Documentation Photographique 5-268, October 1966, pl.11. For a panoramic view of the region, and especially the southern part of the village, see Černý et al., Graffiti I, pl.129.

⁸³ All the examples in our list that refer to "the five watchposts", or may conceivably refer to them, are either dated or datable to Dynasty XX. Exx.1-9 are securely dated to year 29 of Ramesses III; Ex.10 has to be dated to a subsequent reign because of the combination of Chief Workman Nhw-m-Mwt and Scribe Imn-nht (vso.1,6); Ex.11 is of year 32 of Ramesses III (line 1); Ex.12 is problematic. It bears a year 9 date; By the use of full pseudoverbal constructions one would tend to date it to Ramesses III. Helck (Materialien, 585) dates this document to the reign of Ramesses IX or XI while Eyre (Glimpses, 90 n.35) mentions the reign of Ramesses X as an additional possibility; The Year 1 date in Ex.13 is not necessarily the date of the ostrakon. The girl could have left many years prior to the date of her return, and it is probably at the time of her return that the text was composed. Mention of Vizier Hri (rto.2-3) shows that the reign cannot be later than Ramesses III; Exx.18,19 should be dated in the

before Dynasty XX in various places within p3 hr⁸⁴, but their construction should not be necessarily linked to that of the five posts we are dealing with here). Perhaps the appearance of the term p3 hr hnr at that same period⁸⁵ is not devoid of significance.

If the watchposts were initially put into use under Ramesses III, and if making the distance to the administration headquarters of Western Thebes as short as possible was an important consideration, it would have been an additional argument in favor of leaving the south-going path open, since it was the shortest link between the village and Medinet-Habu.

The village itself had its main entrance directed towards the north. Whether local considerations of topography and living conditions were at the origin of that orientation, or the fact that the Royal Mortuary Temples of early Dynasty XVIII (the formative period of the village) lay to the north of Deir el-Medina, is of little concern to us here. Once the orientation was established and the village took gradually shape, it must have been impracticable to reverse it. The path to the Valley of the Kings seems to start near the north-western angle of the settlement⁸⁶, and would be thus easily attainable through the front entrance. The path to the Valley of the Queens however, led to the south-western angle⁸⁶ obliging the workmen either to circle around part of their settlement on their way to work and back, or to leave the village through an alternative exit. Such a gate did exist at some stage, near the southern end of the western encircling wall, though its period and exact function are now impossible to establish⁸⁷.

second half of Dynasty XX by the lack of prepositions in the pseudoverbal constructions (cf. Groll, Scripta, 11ff.); The characters in Ex. 20 are well known. According to Černý who has dealt with the document (Černý, JNES 14, 1955, 161-63), it should be dated in the second part of the reign of Ramesses III or under one of his successors; Exx. 14-17, 21-23 do not refer to "the five watchposts"; Ostr. DM 36 rto. 9, which may also refer to a passing of inbwt, though it does not figure among the examples (the pertinent passage is damaged), is dated to year 31 (of Ramesses III) (rto. 3; see Černý, Ostraca DM I, pl. 16); Two additional documents may conceivably refer to the passing of inbwt: Ostr. Cairo CG 25290 bis of a year 6 (Daressy, Ostraca CGC, 74) and Ostr. Nicholson Museum R. 97 vso. 1, datable to mid-Dynasty XX (Eyre, Glimpses, 89, 83 n.(r), 84-dating).

84 See Exx. 14-16, datable to Dynasty XIX.

85 The term has been discussed above, p. 66. Scribe ʔImn-nht, the first to bear the title sš n p3 hr hnt, is mentioned with this title in the Turin Strike Papyrus (Gardiner, RAD, 55.8, 58.14-15).

86 Cf. Tosi/Roccati, Stele DM, 28-29.

87 The problems concerning the various stages of the encircling wall have been treated in Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFAO 75, 1975, 430ff; BIFAO 76, 1976, 324 fig. 2, 325-28.

The normal procedure for leaving the village for the plain during Dynasty XX must have been to check out through the front gate, and then either obtain formal permission to proceed through the obstructed and guarded passage due north-east, or walk along the flank of the village and emerge into the south-going wadi. The latter alternative was probably the normal itinerary of the striking workmen⁸⁸.

This reconstruction of the situation, tentative though it is, enables a better understanding of that part of Ex.5 which implies that leaving the village from its rear part would not exempt the workmen from the necessity to pass by the five watchposts on their way to the plain.

Example 7 shows that passing the watchposts was necessary in order to descend to mryt. The special meaning of mryt in the language of the workmen has been already discussed and was shown to apply to the region of the Royal Mortuary Temples⁸⁹, and more specifically to its southern part between the Ramesseum and Medinet-Habu. The descent to mryt in this particular example had been planned in order to voice the grievances of the workmen in the presence of such officials that would be bound to bring the incident to the knowledge of the vizier himself who was absent being busy with the preparations for the Sed festival⁹⁰. Such officials could hardly be found elsewhere than in the region of Medinet-Habu. What is more, p3 htm (n p3 hr) is mentioned in this context; Examination of the evidence regarding this construction has shown that it was situated at that general region⁹¹. On the other hand, the workmen had just received part of the provisions due to them, as the text emphasizes repeatedly⁹², and were nevertheless passing the inbt according to their plan. Basic provisions such as grain were distributed to the workmen at or near Deir el-Medina and not in the Valley of the Kings where they would have little use for it⁹³. Therefore, we are once again faced with the necessity of postulating that the inbt in question lay on the path connecting the village with the region of the plain.

Example 12 provides supporting evidence for the connection between crossing the inbt and descending to mryt. The fragmentary condition of the inscription prevents us from being sure about the sequence of the events, but there

88 Cf. Gardiner, RAD, 55.6 discussed above.

89 See p. 79 f.

90 Gardiner, RAD, 55.15-16.

91 See above, p. 89ff.

92 RAD, 56.8; 56.9-10; 56.11-12; 56.14-15.

93 Cf. Janssen, CPRP, 560.

are good chances that ṯw.w hr whm ṯw.w h3y r mryt should refer back to snṯ ṯr.n 4 ṯn(b)w.

Both Examples 7 and 12 serve another purpose as well; they provide conclusive evidence to show that t3 5 ṯnbt could not have been a term designating a single construction, and that there actually existed five distinct units situated at some distance from each other⁹⁴. Moreover, those units could not have been dispersed at different unconnected points around the village guarding, say, the entrances to five different paths leading away from it. The ṯnbtw had to be passed in sequence, one after the other, by those who went from the village to the plain. This disposition is made particularly obvious by the incident involving the scribe ṯImn-nḥt who managed to catch up with the descending workmen after they had only passed one ṯnbt, and warned them against passing the remaining ones.

A vague but useful hint concerning relative distances from the ṯnbtw in question to the village on the one hand, and from them to the plain on the other, is supplied by Ex.4 where it is claimed that one could pass the watchposts, (obviously on one's way out of the village) and yet remain in p3 hr. This passage can present considerable difficulties to anyone who regards the five ṯnbtw as markers of the limit of p3-hr in that particular region of Western Thebes, for it would either be self-contradictory or would necessitate a thorough reappraisal of the extent of p3 hr⁹⁵. The difficulty can be probably by-passed by means of a detailed comparison between this incident and other occurrences of mass walkouts.

The basic sequence of events in most examples is the following:

- a. Passing the ṯnbtw. The verb used for this action is snṯ.
- b. Reaching a place or a region. The verb is either ph or h3y.
- c. Staying in a place for a certain period. The verb is hmsṯ, wrš or even sdr.
- d. Announcing the circumstance for the walkout. This stage may follow either one of the above.
- e. Initiating counteractive measures by the superiors.

94 Since Ex.12 belongs to a different period than the bulk of our other examples (see above, n.83), mention of four watchposts instead of five may reflect the situation at the time of its inscription.

95 See for instance Peet,GTR,12; Edgerton,JNES 10, 1951,140 n.17.

According to this sequence and to our theory about the location of t3 5 ḥnbt, stage a should be understood as quitting the settlement via the southern wadi but not necessarily arriving at a specific destination. The real destination is supplied by stage b or stages b and c combined. The main difference between b and c, emphasized by the choice of verbs, is that stage b involves motion towards a place whereas c accentuates the determination to persevere by settling down in a given spot. The very existence of stage b shows that even after having passed the watchposts the workmen had to go still further to reach their habitual destination, the region of the royal mortuary temples.

In a few abbreviated versions stage b is dropped because the destination becomes obvious from the identity of the monument mentioned in stage c⁹⁶. In Ex.4 however, stage b is lacking for a different reason which is made apparent by the phrase ḥmsḥ ḥr p3 ḥr. This phrase should be understood not so much as a positive indication of the exact spot in which the workmen decided to stay, but rather as a negative one, implying that this time the crew did not march to the plain (after having passed the ḥnbt); in fact they did not march at all (no stage b); they remained in p3 ḥr⁹⁷. In reality they could have wandered to any direction except eastwards to the plain, for any moderate distance and they would still be technically considered as being in p3 ḥr. Under these circumstances, the exact location in p3 ḥr in which they sat down was of little importance for the understanding of the incident and might anyway be hard to specify properly; it was therefore omitted altogether.

Why then bother to pass the ḥnbt in the first place? What could have been gained by a walkout with no message, no complaints and no proper audience⁹⁸? The answer to those questions is probably supplied in the monologue by Ms the son of C3-nḥtw which was pronounced in the presence of his fellow striking workmen and the three captains who went to bring them back: W3ḥ ʿImn w3ḥ p3 ḥk3 C.w.s. p3 nty C3 b3w.f r mt, mtw.tw ḥ3.ḥ dī r ḥry m p3 ḥrw, ḥ-ḥrḥ.f sdr ḥw wCy.f ḥsyw, mtw.ḥ tm, ḥ-ḥrḥ.tw n.f sb3yt m p3 Crk.f rn n Pr-C3 C.w.s. ḥm⁹⁹.

96 Examples 2, 8.

97 See also Baer, *Orientalia* 34, 1965, 431 n.4.

98 The three captains who went to bring them back cannot be regarded as proper audience; Those functionaries were constantly available to the workmen since they lived with them in the village and were present at work. To meet them, the workmen did not have to leave their settlement.

99 Gardiner, *RAD*, 54.15 - 55.2.

"As Amon endures, as the Ruler whose wrath is more powerful than death endures, if I am taken up from here today, it is (only) after having looted tombs that I (lit. "he") shall go to sleep. If I don't (carry out this promise/threat), may I (lit. "he") be punished upon the very spot in which I (lit. "he") swore by the name of Pharaoh L.P.H."¹⁰⁰.

Ms., as we can see, is not complaining about anything. His only wish is to be left alone. He and his fellow workmen may have walked out to avoid being drafted for some unpleasant task on that day. This can explain why they could not have remained in the village on the one hand, and why they preferred to stay in p3 hr, probably hiding in one of the wadis, instead of marching down to the plain, on the other.

To sum up the contribution of Ex.4 to the problem of the location of t3 5 3nbt we may conclude that since the workmen, after having passed the watchposts, were still left with the choice of either descending to the plain or remaining in p3 hr, those watchposts were necessarily concentrated in the upper part of the wadi leading south from Deir el-Medina, and certainly above the point where one has to turn sharply to the east, on his way to the plain.

The common characteristic of 3nbt crossings that have been hitherto discussed was the element of organized action against regulations. In most

¹⁰⁰ This passage has been translated in various ways (Edgerton, JNES 10, 1951, 140 with n.19; Černý, JEA 15, 1929, 249 n.41; Baer, *Orientalia* 34, 1965, 431-32; Frandsen, *Verbal System*, 137-38; Groll, JNES 28, 1969, 189; Černý/Groll, *LEG*, 371 ex.1049).

Here is a full example of a double oath, or better, an "oath in steps".

Step I: If A happens, I shall do B.

Step II: If I fail to do B (despite the fact that A did happen), C should be done to me.

Both protaseis begin with the independent mtw.f sdm as expected, and both apodoseis are rendered in the third person and in the second tense.

Frandsen (op.cit.) has identified the second mtw.3 as an additional introduction of a protasis, but has not realized its role in the structure of the oath.

For additional examples of mtw.3 tm in oaths, though not as complete as the present one, see: Ostr.DM 57 rto.4; 61,4; 564,3.

The last part, i.e., the apodosis of the second step, has been commented upon by Baer (op.cit., 432 n.2). For an additional example showing that the place in which an oath is taken plays a role in the formulation of the potential punishment in case of perjury, see Pap.Berlin 10496 vso.4-5 (Allam, HOUP Plates, p1.83; Idem, HOUP, 278-79 and nn.11,13,14 where the point seems to have been missed).

cases the objective had been to draw attention and force the authorities to remedy the situation that had brought about the necessity to demonstrate.

Passing the ʔnbwt by individuals is a somewhat different matter that deserves to be looked into separately. Example 13 mentions an incident in which a woman was involved. The text is fragmentary making the details hard to follow. Judging by the use of the verb pr³ for quitting (the Necropolis)¹⁰¹, followed by a date, and by the couple of (fragmentary) lines that separate this statement from the announcement that she had reached the ʔnbt, it makes better sense to assume that we are dealing here with a report on the arrival of that woman to p3 hr after a long(?) and unauthorized(?) absence about which the guardian was asking for an official investigation, rather than attempting to reconcile the use of those verbs with the idea that she was apprehended on her way out. Since the text breaks down right after t3 ʔnb///, we cannot tell whether the word was qualified by an adjective that might identify it as a specific guardpost or not, in which case we should assume that the collective t3 (5) ʔnbt was intended. It seems more plausible that a woman returning to p3 hr, if this is what it is, should reach the 5 ʔnbwt which, according to our theory, were situated near Deir el-Medina, than having her reach one of the other forts which must have been guarding the Royal Necropolis proper, and would therefore be situated in areas to which women normally had no access.

Actual crossings of the ʔnbt by individuals are rarely mentioned in the documents of the Necropolis. Perhaps such an action was only deemed worthy of mention if it signified quitting p3 hr for a long period or forever. In Ex.20 a father laments his son's foolish decision to do so, in a letter addressed to him, and urges him back¹⁰². In Ex.19, the quitting of one of the members of a Deir el-Medina family is utilized as time reference.

Oddly we never hear of any active interventions by those whose duty should have been to guard the ʔnbwt against trespassers, whether individuals or groups. One gets the impression that either the posts were unguarded, which is hard to admit since such a situation would render them useless, or that the guard was quite ineffective. Assuming that a single guard was posted in such a watch-house, he could have done little to stop the entire crew

101 For the use of the Old Perfective of verbs of motion to render Simple Past see Černý/Groll, LEG, 283 where this example is quoted (No.770). See also n.83, above.

102 For this specific case see Černý, JNES 14, 1955, 161-63.

marching out on strike, other than to inform his superiors. The latter would promptly set about to persuade the strikers to return using threats when need arose, but we have no record of actual use of violence.

T3 ʔnbt as such, was not a term coined specially for use in the Theban Necropolis (though t3 5 ʔnbt was); In fact, the phrase snʔ t3 ʔnbt mḥtt occurs in a passage dealing with the pursuit after escaped slaves in the eastern Delta, in the region of Ikḳw. In that example (No.22), crossing the northern ʔnbt seems almost synonymous to leaving the limits of the settlement in that direction.

In a similar function, as border watchposts and strongholds dispersed all around the Royal Theban Necropolis, must have served the individual ʔnbwt mentioned in our examples 14-17. They should be distinguished from t3 5 ʔnbt that have been hitherto discussed. They are mentioned in the documents, not as obstacles that are occasionally crossed by embittered individuals on their way out of p3 hr or by groups of workmen on strike, but as strongholds (some of them probably marking the limits of p3 hr) which are regularly patrolled, and about the state of which reports are occasionally made. Examples 14-16 are records of such reports while Ex.17 speaks of a well-organized inspection tour of the whole region of p3 hr (the term t3 st Pr-C3 is employed). For the purpose of that inspection, the area seems to have been subdivided into partial regions by means of prominent points of reference. One of them, probably the northernmost, was ///ʔnb(w)w mḥty n t3 st Pr-C3.

In all the abovementioned examples, the ʔnbwt seem to be connected with t3 st Pr-C3 or t3 st C3t which have been regarded by Černý as synonyms of p3 hr¹⁰³. The validity of this equivalence of terms is not affected by the interpretation of the term p3 hr itself, inasmuch as it holds true despite our divergent view regarding its meaning. Thus, in variance to Černý's view, these individual ʔnbwt should be interpreted as guardposts of the Royal Necropolis and not as walls or fortifications pertaining to the Royal Tomb under construction¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Černý, Community, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Wente has pointed out parallel occurrences of t3 st C3t n Pr-C3 and p3 hr C3 n Pr-C3 in order to show that the former may have at times the meaning "the Royal Tomb" (Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 226 and n.17). Since, however, p3 hr C3 n Pr-C3 itself is liable to a different interpretation (see above, p.26), I feel that there is no necessity to interpret the "walls" of examples 14-16 as elements of the royal tomb.

This view concords with the observations, mentioned repeatedly by Thomas, about the existence of actual archaeological evidence for such constructions in various sites of the Valley of the Kings, the Valley of the Queens and their immediate surroundings¹⁰⁵. Fortifying the Necropolis and limiting access to the royal tombs and those of the royal families should have been a project of high priority in view of the importance of the monuments and the potential threat to their safety, which at times was very real¹⁰⁶.

The walls mentioned in Pap.Salt 124 (Ex.23) are probably different from both t3 5 ꜥnbt and the individual guardhouses. The general context of that papyrus suggests that the ꜥnbw of this example were situated within the village of Deir el-Medina, though to what purpose they had been built we cannot tell¹⁰⁷. The plural n3 ꜥnbw utilized in this text is more likely to have p3 ꜥnb as singular¹⁰⁸ than t3 ꜥnbt which is the term we are interested in.

For a convincing distinction between the uses of the masculine and feminine forms of the word, Example 19 may be consulted. The masculine wꜥ ꜥnb denotes an ordinary wall in a workman's wꜥ3 that had to be rebuilt after having crumbled down, whereas the feminine t3 ꜥnb///, in that same text, is the term for the watchpost which had been passed by, by the workman Nb-wnnf on his way out of the settlement. Additional instances in which the masculine is employed have to do with various types of building activities while constructing the walls of a royal building at Deir el-Bahri (Ex.21).

The arguments that have been presented concerning the nature and disposition of t3 5 ꜥnbt and other ꜥnbwt of the Theban Necropolis should be judged not only in the light of their internal logic, but also in terms of their ability to provide answers to related questions, or more adequate definitions to additional terms that are mentioned by the documents in connection with those ꜥnbwt. One such result is the realization that the route leading from the Valley of the Kings to the plain through Wadiyen was not frequented by the workmen of the Necropolis. That does not mean that the wadi was unknown or that it had been permanently sealed. It is conceivable that, being the most comfortable route to the royal tombs, it was employed as the

¹⁰⁵ See notes 50-52, above.

¹⁰⁶ Černý, CAH², 11-13.


¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bonnet/Valbelle, BIFA0 75, 1975, 444.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. rto.1, 19 of the same papyrus (Černý, JEA 15, 1929, p.143).

official way of access for funerary processions, and a way through which oversize monuments could be carried to the tombs more securely even if more time consumingly. Those activities were rare and were even more rarely performed by the workmen themselves; therefore Wadiyen seems to have lain outside their realm.

CHAPTER VII: T3 ʔnt

In a barren region whose landscape is composed of nothing but cliffs and wadis, the term t3 ʔnt, "the valley, the wadi" can hardly serve as a reliable topographical indication unless the wadi in question was so intimately familiar to those who employed the term as to leave no doubt in their minds about its identity. Even then, the term would not have been revealing to outsiders, and it is even less so to the modern investigator. Yet its occurrence in the texts of the community of workmen has not aroused the least controversy; actually it has never been properly discussed.

Peet's statement: "It is singular that these papyri (referring to the Tomb-Robberies Papyri) do not furnish us with the name of the Valley of the Kings. Indeed we know of no name for it save 'the Valley', t3 ʔnt, which occurs on ostraca actually found there and need not necessarily be its full name"¹, seems to have settled the case to everyone's satisfaction even though the two documents cited by Peet are most controversial. His argument however, cannot be considered conclusive proof, neither can Černý's remark, written on the same subject almost half a century later: "But  "the Valley", occurs in contexts which suggest that it was of special importance to the workmen, and it is difficult to locate anywhere else than in the chief place of their activity, namely the Valley of the Kings"².

Methodologically it is undesirable to investigate the term t3 ʔnt, or any other topographical term in Western Thebes, while trying to establish a name for the Valley of the Kings. Černý's approach³ is, in this respect, preferable to those of Peet or of Thomas⁴. Černý discusses t3 ʔnt alongside with various other topographical terms under the heading: "Topographical Terms of the Theban West Side"⁵, and presents the full documentary evidence concerning it. It is therefore all the more surprising that he should base his final conclusion on intuition rather than on an analysis of the information at hand.

Thomas does not believe that a single topographical term t3 ʔnt referring to a specific wadi existed in Western Thebes. "T3 ʔnt" thus appears to be a

1 Peet, GTR, 10.

2 Černý, Community, 92.

3 Ibid., 92-94.

4 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 57: Idem, RNT, 50, 66 n.12, 71.

5 Černý, Community, 87ff.

familiar abbreviation for a wadi as occasion indicated, rather than the name of any particular necropolis"⁶.

Others, based upon the same documents, have proposed such locations as Wadiyen (Spiegelberg⁷), the region of the Valley of the Queens (Černý⁸), a site within the cultivated region of Western Thebes (the group of the CEDAE working on the Theban graffiti⁹).

Diversity of opinions therefore exists, but no outright discussion of the evidence. Before we can start such a discussion, the documents themselves will be presented. It should be borne in mind that these are all the pertinent examples I was able to spot, out of which only three contain a proper¹⁰ mention of t3 ĩnt¹¹ whereas seven others¹² refer to r (n) t3 ĩnt, "the mouth or entrance of the Valley", a connected term which should be studied in conjunction with the former.

Ex.1 Ostr.Cairo CG 25302 I,2ff.¹³

"/// of the Second Season, day 3¹⁴. On that day the scribe ĩmn-nĥt, the 3tw Nfr-ĥtp and 32 workmen, one man absent, went to mryt in/from t3 ĩnt. They found a donkey which had passed inside, as well as a single old man /////¹⁵".

Ex.2 Ostr.Cairo CG 25559 rto.1-5¹⁵.

6 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 57.

7 Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 160.

8 Černý, Community, 11 n.6.

9 CEDAE, Graffiti I, p.129. The symbol of a boat with a question mark on it occurs in the panoramic photograph of the region twice, at half the distance from the Nile to the royal mortuary temples in the cultivated area of Western Thebes, roughly opposite the Karnak Temple. The explanatory legend says: "Installations portuaires, marché et poste de police du Nouvel Empire (Meryet em ta Inet)". The implication is that t3 ĩnt is understood as being in the fertile plain.

10 For the criteria see below, p.151f.

11 Exx.1-3.

12 Exx.4-10.

13 It would be useless to quote Daressy's transliteration of the text (Daressy, Ostraca CGC, 77) in view of Černý's translation (Community, 93) which reflects a significant improvement over the earlier reading. No photograph or facsimile of the ostrakon has been published.

14 Further entries in that same ostrakon (cf. our Ex.6) tend to suggest that the month should be III Prt.

15 Černý, Ostraca CGC, 45*; translated in idem, BIFAO 27, 1927, 186-87; idem, Community, 94.

Hsbt 1 3bd 3 Prt sw 21, hrw pn tsī in nswt ʔImn-htp C.w.s. ʔIw.f ph t3 int
 iw t3 ist m shsh r h3t.f. ʔIw.f dīt wn.tw p3 wd3, iw.f dīt šd.tw 4 Cwy smy,
 iw.f dī(t).w (m) hsst t3 ist in sš.....

"Year 1, third month of the Second Season, day 21. On that day King Ameno-
 phis (I) L.P.H. ascended. He attained t3 int while the crew-(members) were
 running before him. He caused the store room to be opened and 4 pots of
smy-ghi(?)¹⁶ to be issued. He gave them as a reward to the crew through the
 scribe....".

Ex.3 Ostr.Cairo CG 25792,5-8¹⁷.

3bd 4 3ht sw 19, hrw pn spr irī.n t3y-hw hr wnmy n nswt imy-r nīwt Hrī r t3
 int r mdt m-dī n3 hwtYW. 3bd 4 3ht sw 20, iw.tw hr b3k m p3 iht nty htp
 im.f....

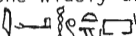
"Fourth month of the First Season, day 19, on this day the fan-bearer at
 the King's right, overseer of the city Hrī arrived at t3 int to speak to
 the captains. Fourth month of the First Season, day 20, they worked at the
 burial shaft¹⁸ (lit. the pit in which (one)¹⁹ rests)".

Ex.4 Ostr.Berlin 9897,2 (unpublished)²⁰.

"Some plaster and firewood were handed over at r t3 int to the workmen".

16 Janssen (CPRP,492) proposes "curd". However, smy could be used as fuel
 for lamps as well (Gardiner,RAD,64.1-2) and should therefore burn; ghi
 (clarified butter and samna) is the only milk product that burns (cf.
 Lucas/Harris,AeMat⁴,330).

17 Černý,Ostraca CGC,112*.

18 The context does not allow the rendering "stall, stable" (Wb.I,121.4).
 The addition nty htp(tw) im.f (see next note) guaranties that the part
 of building we need has something to do with a tomb. The closest word
 that I could find is 3b ht (Wb.I,12.16; Capart,Gardiner,van de Walle,JEA
 22,1936,178. Cf.Ostr.BM 5624 rto.3,6 (Blackman,JEA 12,1926,pl.34); Ostr.
 Florence 2621 rto.3, vso.4 (Allam,HOUPlates,pls.37,39); Pap.Berlin
 10496 rto.3,4,9 (Ibid.,pl.81); Ostr.DM 1252 + Ostr.Florence 2617 + Ostr.
 Turin 6620,6838,6851,1.9 (Posener,Ostraca lit.DM II,pl.64)) which was
 probably pronounced like our iht. Its meaning is given as "Schacht des
 Grabes". I cannot see, however, any reason for the widely unconventional
 orthography. Gardiner (AEO II,209*) has a hapax  which may have
 some connection with our term.

19 This seems to be the only way to translate if a masculine antecedent
 (p3 iht) is to be supplied for the resumptive pronoun in im.f. For full
 writings of htp.tw see Černý,VK,29 with n.13. For nty sdm.f see Wente,
 LRL,35(d) pace Černý/Groll,LEG,503 ex.1420.

20 Mentioned in Černý,Community,93 n.7.

Ex.5 Ostr.Cairo CG 25247 rto.5-6²¹.

Hsbt 4 3bd 2 Šmw, sw 25, iw.tw hr in? Cš (ht) ///// r t3 int hsbdt nfr nfr.....

"Year 4, second month of the Third Season, day 25, cedar wood²² was brought ///// r t3 int (and) blue color of double-good quality".

Ex.6 Ostr.Cairo CG 25302 II,4-5²³.

3bd 3 Prt sw 10, hrw pn i? in p3 md3yw 2 r²⁴ r n t3 int r dd:

"Third month of the Second Season, day 10, on this day the two policemen came to r n t3 int saying:".

Ex.7 Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 vso.II,1-9²⁵.

Hsbt 8, 3bd 2 3ht sw 13, hrw pn spr ir.n sš >Inpw-m-hb, sš P3-sr, hry md3yw Nht-Mnw, hry md3yw Hr? m dd: >Imy-r hmww Rm spr r p3 htm n p3 hr. >Iw. tw hr i? n.f n3 hwtYW, iw.f hr dd n.w: D? p3 Pr-C³ C.w.s. iw /// I3ty Pn-Shmt, imy-r pr-hd Mry-Pth, sš n hwt nbw HwY. >Iw.w hr i? r r t3 int hry p3 mitt n Pr-C³ C.w.s. 3bd 2 3ht sw 14 iw tm I3ty Pn-Shmt hr i? hn^C.w // /// n3 hwtYW m dd: D? p3 Pr-C³ C.w.s. mkw. St hr wpwt i-ir.tw.w. >Iw.f hr i? 3bd 2 3ht sw 16 hn^C sš HwY n Hwt nbw /// iw HwY hr i? hrw 2 iw.f d? hms? hr b3k p3 wt, iw p3 imy-r hmww(?) hr i? r sht m 3bd 2 3ht sw 18 iw. (tw) hr i? p3 wt ///// iw.f hr i? r p3 htm n p3 hr r mkw t3 ist m 3bd 2 3ht sw 20.....

"Year 8, second month of the First Season, day 13, on this day the scribe >Inpw-m-hb, the scribe P3-sr, the chief of police Nht-Mnw the chief of police Hr? came saying: 'The overseer of craftsmen Rm has reached the htm n p3 hr'. The captains (of the crew of workmen) were taken to him and he told them: 'Pharaoh L.P.H. has sent /// Vizier Pn-Shmt, the overseer of the treasury Mry-Pth and the scribe of the sculptors' workshop HwY.' They came to r t3 int with Pharaoh's document on the second month of the First Season, day 14, but the vizier Pn-Shmt did not come with them.

The captains were told as follows: 'The Pharaoh has given rewards. They are for commissions which were performed'. He (the Vizier) came (on) the second month of the First Season, day 16, together with the scribe of the sculptors' workshop HwY //// and HwY spent two days on the spot, working on the

21 Daressy, Ostraca CGC, 64, pl.52.

22 Černý reads "four pieces" Community, 93 n.6.

23 Daressy, Ostraca CGC, 78.

24 Corrected from n according to Černý's translation in Community, 93 n.3.

25 Černý, Ostraca CGC, 3*.

coffin, and the overseer of craftsmen came to sht on the second month of the First Season (sic.). Second month of the First Season, day 18, the coffin was carried /////. He (the Vizier?) came to p3 htm n p3 hr to reward the crew(?) on the second month of the First Season, day 20".

Ex.8 Ostr.Cairo CG 25788 rto.2-5²⁶.

H^c-m-Mn-nfr i^w.(f) C^hc m r rⁿ t3 i^{nt} hn^c i^{my}-r hmww Rm. Hrw 5 hry(w)-rnpt, 3, mst Swth, i^w.w m p3 dm^{it}...

"H^c-m-Mn-nfr while(?) (he was) standing at r rⁿ t3 i^{nt}²⁷ together with the overseer of the craftsmen Rm. Third epagomenal day, birth of Seth, they were in the village..."

Ex.9 Ostr.Turin N.57366 (=suppl. 9592) rto.1-2²⁸.

Hsbt 1 3bd 2 Šmw sw 24 hrw pn r dd h3 m n3 mnw m r t3 i^{nt}, w3h.w m r n3 hrw.

"Year 1, second month of the Third Season, day 24, this day of saying 'Ha!' over the monuments in r t3 i^{nt} and of placing them in the entrance of the tombs".

Ex.10 Pap.Turin Cat.1923 vso.15 (+fragments of: 2073,2082,2083)²⁹.

////db^c r-š3^c m r n t3 i^{nt} r hry n-dr grh m krs.

"/// sealing off from r n t3 i^{nt} and up after the burial was finished".

Ex.11 Theban Graffito 78³⁰.

Hsbt 20 3bd 2 Šmw sw 23 hrw pn iⁱ.n sš ʔIs-sw-p3-nfr-(hr) t3 i^{nt}.

"Year 20, second month of the Third Season, day 23, on this day the scribe ʔIs-sw-p3-nfr-(hr) came (to) t3 i^{nt}".

Ex.12 Theban Graffito 897³¹.

//// (3bd) 3 Šmw sw /// hrw pn //// sš ʔIs-sw-p3-nfr-(hr) n p3 hr r t3 i^{nt} Nb(?) -hpt(?) -RC(?).

" //// third (month) of the Third Season day //// on this day the scribe ʔIs-sw-p3-nfr-(hr) of p3 hr came to the valley of (King) Nb(?) -hpt(?) -RC(?)".

26 Ibid.,111*.

27 The square bracket in Černý's translation of the passage (Community,93 n.2) should not include the whole word "Valley" inasmuch as only the initial i is doubtful (cf.Černý,Ostraca CGC Plates,pl.106).

28 Mentioned in Černý,Community,93 n.5; published in Lopez,Ostraca Ieratici III,pl.113,113a.

29 Kitchen,RI VI,367; mentioned in Černý,Community,93 n.9. Černý encloses the word verso between brackets, showing that there is something unusual about it (VK,21 n.1).

30 Spiegelberg,Graffiti,10.

31 Ibid.,74.

The first step in our discussion will be to investigate Thomas's claim that t3 ʔnt should not be regarded as a specific toponym because it can designate any wadi ³² (elsewhere she specifies: any Royal Wadi, meaning the individual side branches off the main valley of Biban el-Moluk)³³. The question is fundamental and could have been raised in connection with other terms as well. Her conclusion however, is misleading because it does not follow necessarily from the argument she has put forward.

As we have already stated³⁴, when a common noun like t3 ʔnt is adopted as a specific toponym by a group of people, it does not lose automatically its regular functions as a common noun. Thus, apart from being a toponym, t3 ʔnt or rather ʔnt, could still mean "valley". One of the properties of such nouns is that when supplied with an appropriate adjective or other qualifier, they may become specific toponyms whose identity depends upon the adjective or the qualifier. Those adjectives or qualifiers can therefore be thought of as agents of identification of the toponyms conceived in that way. For instance, t3 ʔnt p3 cʃ³⁵ or (t3) ʔnt Nb-ḥpt-R³⁶ are toponyms on their own merit, distinct from one another, and not necessarily identical with the absolute toponym T3 ʔnt. Thus far, the difference is clear; a case however may develop, wherein the common noun ʔnt or t3 ʔnt may acquire the status of a toponym not by means of an added qualifier but rather by means of a specific circumstance. So long as the circumstance is clear enough, it can qualify the noun as clearly and as distinctly as an adjective and serve as a circumstantial agent of identification of the toponym thus formed. Outwardly such a toponym would be indistinguishable from the absolute one since it would not be accompanied by any identifying epithets, but it would still be quite different from the absolute toponym in that the circumstance of its mention would readily identify it. The absolute toponym on the other hand, is not dependent upon any circumstance inasmuch as its identity had been agreed upon, had become part of the tradition and was therefore common knowledge among the members of that specific group of people. An example is Niwt = Thebes. The term t3 ʔnt which we propose to discuss is an absolute toponym, hence the relative difficulty for us, who do not belong to the group of people in question, to identify it.

32 See above, n.6.

33 Thomas, RNT, 50.

34 See above, p.10ff.

35 Pap.d'Orbiney 7,2 and passim.

36 Theban Graffito 968 (Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 81).

In contrast, the examples given by Thomas as proof of the non-existence of one specific toponym t3 ʔnt³⁷, belong to the type of the circumstantially identifiable toponyms whose identity changes, as she claims, according to the changing circumstance. Had it not been so, she could have never presented her argument in three lines. How does she, in fact, know that t3 ʔnt of the graffito in Gabbanat el-Giroud (assuming that the reading is correct), is different from t3y ʔnt of Wadi en-Nisr? Obviously, and with reason, she takes it for granted that when somebody scribbles upon an unmovable object in a wadi that he has come to inspect the wadi or that he has come to work in it, he surely has in mind the particular wadi in which he is standing at the time of inscription of the graffito³⁸. This is clear circumstantial means of identification, and therefore, such a toponym need have nothing to do with the term we are about to discuss and it should not be included among our examples.

In view of what has been already said, if we are to keep the discussion focused upon the one and, so far as we know, only wadi familiarly termed by the workmen t3 ʔnt, we should first screen out all extraneous examples. Thus documents not pertaining to the Theban Necropolis will not be considered since t3 ʔnt and particularly r (n t3) ʔnt were utilized as toponyms elsewhere in Egypt as well³⁹. In order to eliminate possible references to the Valley of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep which does not seem to be the one we are after, all mentions of the undefined ʔnt, or t3 ʔnt followed by a cartouche⁴⁰, or t3 ʔnt figuring in an inscription dated to II Šmw or early III Šmw, the period during which "the Beautiful Feast of the Valley" could be expected to take place⁴¹, will be excluded. We shall similarly exclude

37 Thomas, JEA 49, 1963, 57 nn. 3, 4.

38 Very symptomatically, the Wadi en-Nisr graffito (Černý, Graffiti, 4 No. 1110) uses the demonstrative in t3y ʔnt with no antecedent.

39 For R-ʔnt near Tihna see Gardiner, AEO I, 53; II, 92*. For R-ʔnt at el-Kab see *ibid.*, I, 50; II, 8*f.

40 Cf. Černý, Community, 94 and our Ex. 12.

41 This is a lunar feast which did not have a fixed celebration date in the "civil" calendar. Its date would oscillate within II Šmw according to the occurrence of New Moon. Cf. Schott, OIC, 73-74; Idem, Festdaten, 107; Idem, Das schöne Fest.

A significant addition to the dated attestations of that feast was made possible by the publication of hieratic graffiti from the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari (Marciniak, Deir el-Bahari I, 32-33, 41-42). Rather than seeking climatic or other explanations for several occurrences of the feast during the early days of III Šmw (*ibid.*, 32-33 with n. 1 in p. 32), one should bear in mind that a lunar month may begin as late as the last day of its civil month (Parker, Calendars, 27). Cf. also Marciniak, *Ét. et Trav.* 5, 1971, 53-54.

from consideration combinations such as t3 ʔnt ^{C3t}⁴² or t3 ʔnt rsy r + placename⁴³. Finally, all mentions of t3 ʔnt on graffiti in contexts of the general type 'NN was here', will be left out⁴⁴.

Those restrictions, it is true, may bring about the rejection of pertinent information, but the matter cannot be helped; what remains is essentially our examples 1-10.

Apart from Thomas's extreme view which has been just discussed, the only other theory for which arguments have been presented is the one that identifies t3 ʔnt with the Valley of the Kings. The general arguments on which that theory is based have been presented by Černý as follows: a. The ostraca mentioning t3 ʔnt were discovered in the Valley of the Kings, and b. The context in which the term occurs conveys the feeling that t3 ʔnt was a place of special importance to the workmen; such a place was the Valley of the Kings.

Both these arguments are inconclusive. Many ostraca were found in the Valley of the Kings that deal with places and activities which have nothing to do with that valley⁴⁵, and besides, one ostrakon among our examples was discovered in Deir el-Medina⁴⁶, while the site of origin of the papyrus (see our Ex.10 above) has not been published. As regards the special connection between the workmen and t3 ʔnt, at least one other site could be considered in that respect, the wadi in which the settlement of the workmen is situated at Deir el-Medina.

A more serious argument against the identification of t3 ʔnt with the Valley of the Kings, which could be raised while we are still dealing with generalities, has to do with the number of documents that make mention of the term. It is very hard to imagine that out of thousands of documents related in one way or another to the activity of the workmen, only three would refer to the Valley of the Kings proper, in what is supposed to be

42 Pap.Abbott 5,5 (Černý,Community,89 n.8). See also Theban Graffito 2138,2 (cf.n.44, below).

43 Botti/Peet,Giornale,pl.14.

44 Our examples 11 and 12 belong to this category as well as Theban Graffiti 1110 and 1359,6 (see n.37, above) and Theban Graffito 2138,2 from the vicinity of the tomb of Seti II in the Valley of the Kings (Černý/Sadek, Graffiti IV,42).

45 Cf. for instance Ostr.Cairo CG 25276,25530,25552,25554,25557,25560,25563,25589,25646,25672,25726, chosen at random, all from the Valley of the Kings.

46 Ostr.Turin 9592 (Ex.9) cf.Černý,Community,11 n.6.

its familiar name in their own colloquial. One has only to compare this number to the occurrences of the terms sht/sht c3t⁴⁷ to realize that something must be amiss. Moreover, not even one among the examples mentioning either t3 ʔnt or r n t3 ʔnt does so in connection with any phase of the actual work of construction of the royal tomb. Why is it, one might ask, that the workmen never ascend to t3 ʔnt to work and not even one small jotting of the nature *hrw pn, b3k m t3 ʔnt has survived out of so many journal entries? Argumentation ex silentio, however, should not be carried too far and it ought to be backed, whenever feasible, by more substantial documentary evidence. Fortunately, such evidence can be derived from our examples.

Dates are available for ten examples out of the twelve mentioned. The dates are quite suggestive: (III) Prt 3 in Ex.1 was a festive day in the Theban necropolis, the Great Festival of Ptah, during which the workmen did not work⁴⁸; similarly, III Prt 21 in Ex.2 was one of the festive days of the cult of the divinized king Amenophis I⁴⁹. The five epagomenal days were not among the working days⁵⁰, so that the pertinent entry in Ex.8, which can be assumed to be dated on the second epagomenal⁵¹, would once again be a non-working day. IV 3ht 19 and III Prt 10 in Exx.3 and 6, respectively, were decade-end days which were customarily spent by the workmen in their village at Deir el-Medina⁵². II Šmw 25 in Ex.5, II Šmw 24 in Ex.9, II Šmw 23 in Ex.11 and III Šmw in Ex.12, are all within the limits of the occurrence of the 'Feast of the Valley' as mentioned above.

47 For these terms see Černý, Community, 90-91; Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 227. See also below, p.186 n.48.

48 In the necropolis this festival lasted for several days; cf. Helck, JESHO 7, 1964, 158(14).

49 Ibid., 158(16); cf. Helck, Festschrift Schott, 71-72.

50 Helck, JESHO 7, 1964, 159(28).



51 This is a fragmentary text. Our term is in rto.2-3; rto.4 has a date of the third epagomenal, rto.5 has another broken date of an epagomenal day; vso.1 has I 3ht 1-3; vso.2 has I 3ht 4. In view of this day-to-day sequence, it is quite probable that the line which precedes the earliest extant date should be dated to the second epagomenal.

52 Helck (ibid., 141) has shown that the last day of each decade, i.e., 10th 20th and 30th of each "civil" month were invariably days of rest, and that work was only exceptionally done on the days before last (9th, 19th 29th), the main exceptions being datable to the reign of Amenmesse. Our examples 3 and 6 are definitely later because of Vizier Hrʔ in the former and the scribe ʔmn-nht in the latter (cf. our Ex.1 which is part of the same document as Ex.6).

According to our criteria the last-mentioned examples should be discarded because of the possibility that t3 ʔnt might refer there to the Valley of Deir el-Bahri⁵³.

Thus, of all our dated examples, only one, Ex.7, bears a non-festive date⁵⁴. It will be demonstrated however, that the incident involving the "mouth of the valley" in that example was not connected directly with the workmen or their working site.

The general impression one gets from the dates is that t3 ʔnt and r (n) t3 ʔnt were not of special importance to the workmen on account of their location at or near the principal working site, namely the Valley of the Kings, but rather on account of their being frequented by the workmen during festive and other off-duty days. Those dates do not present any meaningful pattern of distribution throughout the year, nor a marked predilection for festive as against normal off-duty dates. The most logical common topographical element would therefore seem to be the village of Deir el-Medina, where the workmen were with their families during those days.

Having mentioned Deir el-Medina more than once in this discussion, it should be made clear that it is not the settlement of the workmen properly speaking, that we have in mind in this case; the term for that was p3 dmʔt⁵⁵, and t3 ʔnt occurs too rarely and with the wrong determinative ( instead of ) for such an identification to be acceptable. What we do have in mind, and as the documents at this stage seem to indicate, is some valley intimately connected with the village in question, a valley that had a "mouth" or entrance which was of greater importance to the workmen than the valley itself. These criteria are most fittingly met by the wadi in which the settlement of Deir el-Medina was situated and by the entrance to that wadi situated at the point through which an outsider coming up from the direction of the Ramesseum⁵⁶ would get his first glimpse of the settlement itself; that very place has been claimed to be

53 Spiegelberg is not sure about the reading of the cartouche in Ex.12 (Graffiti,74) while Thomas proposes to read Nb-M3^ct-RC (JEA 49,1963, 57 n.2).

54 There does not seem to be any evidence that the mnʔt-feast, a lunar one pertaining to II 3^{ht} (cf. Helck/Otto, LdÄ II,175) was known or celebrated at Deir el-Medina.

55 Černý, BIFA0 27,1927,169; Idem, Community, 92 n.1.

56 On the various paths leading to the village see figures 2,3. See also Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1935-1940, pt.4, pl.2.

the site of t3 st n n3 ʔryw-C3, a vantage point as well as an inspection post at the northernmost part of the valley⁵⁷.

At this stage the individual documents will be checked for additional information; Ex.1 lends itself to more than one interpretation. An impressive body of workmen, possibly the whole crew, accompanied by their scribe and an 3tw officer, go to mryt on the third day of the feast of Ptah, which could have been the fifth consecutive day away from work if one considers the two decade-end days at the end of II Prt. We are not told anything about their motive and may assume that the incident was mentioned as a background into which an encounter with a trespassing donkey and an old man could be fitted. If we are right, some indication of the place of encounter would be needed, hence the mention of t3 ʔnt.

The location of mryt in the plain of the royal mortuary temples has been already discussed⁵⁸. Černý has interpreted šm r mryt m t3 ʔnt as if m t3 ʔnt were a modifier of mryt. He finds it curious that a mryt should be situated in the Valley of the Kings and leaves it at that⁵⁹. The CDEAE group who have been investigating the Theban graffiti seemingly endorse the topographical connection between mryt and t3 ʔnt, but they locate them in the cultivated area of Western Thebes⁶⁰. If Černý was right, it means that there existed two sites called mryt in the language of the workmen, one near Medinet-Habu and the other in the Valley of the Kings. If the CDEAE group is right, it means that not only do we have two locations for mryt but also two for t3 ʔnt since r n t3 ʔnt is located in their panoramic photograph of Western Thebes, in the junction between Wadiyen and the Valley of the Kings⁶¹.

Peet cites unexpectedly this passage as evidence for his identification of t3 ʔnt with the Valley of the Kings, but offers no explanation⁶².

Nobody to my knowledge, unless Peet had that in mind, has suggested to disconnect mryt from t3 ʔnt and to regard the adverbials r mryt and m t3 ʔnt as two unconnected modifiers of the verb šm. According to this

57 See above, p.119. For a view of the wadi of Deir el-Medina and the commanding situation of its entrance see Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935 Part 3: pl.28.

58 See above, p.79f.

59 Community, 93-94. He wonders whether a marketplace existed in the Valley of the Kings.

60 See n.9, above.

61 See n.9, above, pl.125. They term it "La bouche de la Vallée (Ro en ta Inet)".

62 See n.1, above.

suggestion, we learn that a. the workmen went to mryt and b. they went there in (via) t3 ʔnt or alternatively, from t3 ʔnt. Knowing the itinerary would make the information about the encounter more precise and therefore more useful. A very similar passage in Ostr.DM 148 rto.11, ʔw.tw ʔnt t3 ʔst r hry m sht, was misunderstood by Christophe⁶³ and corrected by Wente who translates: "the crew was brought back down from the Field"⁶⁴.

It seems, therefore, that t3 ʔnt in this example can be understood as the destination or the starting point, or again the way to the destination, depending upon the point of view of the translator. This situation does not help matters at all and there would be little sense in pressing the point. We shall therefore limit ourselves to the remark that if t3 ʔnt proves to be the valley of Deir el-Medina, going to mryt through or from the valley would have meant that instead of taking the path leading from the village towards the Ramesseum, the workmen had walked along the wadi of Deir el-Medina southwards, and from it they had emerged into the plain in the direction of Medinet Habu, or were about to do so when they met the donkey and the old man.

Before leaving this example it might help to remember that on one occasion the fourth day of III Prt, i.e. the last day of the Ptah festival, was spent by the workmen at the Great Field, near the "work in progress", jubiling and offering to Ptah⁶⁵. The descent to mryt in our document could have been related to the preparations for such a celebration which would have taken place on the next day. Alternatively, if no more work was being done at the Royal Tomb at the time our document was written, the descent to mryt could have enabled the workmen to participate in a festival organized there. At any rate, after five non-working days, the point of departure of the workmen would presumably be Deir el-Medina.

Ex.2 deals with another feast, that of Amenophis I. In a series of short sentences, the scribe presents us with a picture of what was probably the main feature in that celebration. From the point of view of the location of t3 ʔnt, this document is no less problematic than Ex.1. In Černý's view, the use of the verb tsʔ indicates that the statue of the divinized king was taken over the hills from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, which is t3 ʔnt⁶⁶. Thomas, whose interpretation of the term t3 ʔnt allows the

63 Christophe, BIFAO 52, 1953, 114-15.

64 Wente, JNES 32, 1973, 227 n.25.

65 Ostr.DM 401 rto.1-5 (Černý, Ostraca DM V, pl.16).

66 Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, 186.

choice of whichever wadi she finds suitable to each specific example, opts for a narrow elevated branch of the Valley of the Kings, leading to KV 39, a tomb which she proposes to assign to Amenophis I⁶⁷. However, despite the unequivocal mention that the god had reached t3 ĩnt, Thomas implies that after having mounted along the hill path normally used by the workmen on their way to work from Deir el-Medina, the procession had stopped at the settlement "of the col" where the celebration took place.

Personally, I tend to agree with Bruyère that one should not expect a store-room containing edibles to have existed at the col⁶⁸ and even less so at the Valley of the Kings, and yet our text speaks of a wd3 from which four pots of "ghi"⁶⁹ were extracted to be given to the celebrating workmen. Moreover, I would think that the carriers of the god's palanquin would have had real trouble carrying it over the cliffs in any sort of a fitting procession, and the idea of having the whole crew of workmen running (sic) in front of them upon those cliffs seems equally unlikely.

Ashraf Sadek reminds us that III Prt 21 was the accession date of Tuthmosis I and that consequently, the kind of feast of Amenophis I that was celebrated on that day ought to be one of mourning at the anniversary of the latter's death, most fittingly featured by a processional arrival of that king's image at the Valley of the Kings⁷⁰. Apart from the fact that the ostrakon discussed by Sadek, which bears the funerary eulogy of Amenophis I, is not dated, and the fact that no trace of mourning is discerned in our Ex.2, it should be pointed out that we cannot really tell whether the king's death was the predominant event of that date or his divinization; we do not even know the location of that king's tomb, nor do we know for a fact that death anniversaries of kings, even divinized ones, should be celebrated near their tombs which were supposed to be concealed, rather than at their mortuary temples. Therefore the date of our document does not seem to constitute an argument in favor of the identification of t3 ĩnt with the Valley of the Kings.

In order to interpret Ex.2 correctly, we ought to know the starting point of the procession of Amenophis I, i.e. the site of the particular temple

67 Thomas, RNT, 71.

68 Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, Part 3, 349.

69 Cf. n. 16 above.

70 Ashraf Sadek, GM 36, 1979, 51ff. The ostrakon here discussed is Ostr. Gardiner 31 (= Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 8, 5). On the date of Amenophis' I death, see also Helck, Festschrift Schott, 71.

of that king from which the workmen had taken the royal statue for the procession. It has been taken for granted that the temple in question was the shrine of Amenophis I that must have stood among the divine chapels at the northernmost end of the village at Deir el-Medina⁷¹.

While we have no textual or other proof for the ascent of a processional statue of Amenophis I to the Valley of the Kings or the col, we have at least one secure example of a visit of his statue at the necropolis of Deir el-Medina⁷². Now, even if the shrine of that god was situated near the settlement, it would still be only on special occasions that the statue would leave its resting place to be carried in due pomp not into the village itself, since its streets were not wide enough for any kind of procession⁷³, but rather to the wide space in front of the village, to the necropolis situated on both its flanks, and possibly elsewhere in the wadi⁷⁴.

Part of the divine chapels among which was the shrine of Amenophis I are now within the enclosure of the Ptolemaic temple, or lie nearby, on the descending slope, to the north of that temple⁷⁵. If we assume that the

71 Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, 170; Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1935-1940, Part 4: 10, 105(D), pls. 18-20.

72 Černý, Community, 184-85 (Ostr. BM 5625). See also Černý's remark on Ostr. BM 5624 (ibid., 185 n.2).

73 Cf. Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, Part 3: 32 where he remarks: "Le nom de rues est une exagération toute orientale pour designer ces venelles étroites où deux personnes ont peine à passer de front".

74 Ostr. BM 5625 vso. 7-8 (cf. n.72) mentions a visit of the god to the entrance of the tomb of Foreman K3h3 (No. 360 at Deir el-Medina). Since that tomb was situated at the southernmost part of the western necropolis of the settlement (cf. PM I/1², pl. VII c9), the procession could have circumambulated the settlement. The archaeological remains confirm that "il est possible que... on ait ménagé sur tout le pourtour du village une route extérieure utile au développement des processions...." Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, Part 3: 336-37).

75 Bruyère, following Schiaparelli, has identified Chapel D (see n.71 above) as a chapel dedicated to Amenophis I and Nefertari by the wall paintings still remaining in situ and the dedicatory monuments that were discovered there. The chapel is north of the Ptolemaic temple, behind the chapel dedicated by Seti I to Hathor. That this region was regarded as lying definitely outside and north of the village, can be gathered by the antithetic parallelism of its mention as against that of the rock chapels of Ptah on the way to the Valley of the Queens:n Pth n t3 st-nfrw p3 rsy n p3 dmit, n Hwt-hrt hnwt imntt p3y.f mhy (Ostr. Oriental Institute Chicago 16991 rto. 5-6, translated and discussed in Wente, JNES 20, 1961, 252ff., particularly nn. e-g in p. 256).

point where the mount of Deir el-Medina, the "Černabrü", comes closest to the slope of Gurnet Murai was the natural site for blocking the entry to the valley of Deir el-Medina, it being the highest and best situated point for guarding the entrance and the easiest to block (point "A" in fig.3), it turns out that most of the abovementioned chapels lay outside the valley proper, that is, due north from that point⁷⁶.

Suppose now, that the wadi of Deir el-Medina was t3 ʔnt and that its entrance was consequently, r n t3 ʔnt: could we not have, under these conditions, in Ex.2, the description of a visit of Amenophis I to the vicinity of the village? It would still involve an ascent to reach the valley proper where one would expect the storeroom to be situated⁷⁷. The impression that such an itinerary would be rather brief is neither here nor there. In fact, if we are to accept literally the image of workmen running in front of the god, we should be looking for a solution involving short distances.

To sum up the evidence of this example, we should admit that the Valley of the Kings cannot be ruled out as a possibility but neither can the wadi of Deir el-Medina. Spiegelberg's proposition that t3 ʔnt might be Wadiyen does not fit into this example, since Wadiyen is not a place where one might expect a storeroom to have existed.

Ex.3 helps accentuate the feeling that the wadi of Deir el-Medina is indeed the site we are after. The arrival of the Vizier⁷⁸, unescorted, to confer with the captains of the crew on a decade end was not a common occurrence. In normal cases he would have sent some representative or would have summoned the captains to his office. This time, however, the matter must have been urgent as well as delicate. We are not informed of the contents of their discussion but it can be guessed at; the purpose of the Vizier must have been to persuade the captains to lead their men to work on the twentieth (the following day), despite the fact that it was the traditional day of rest. The need for haste is understandable since a burial was scheduled for the 22d⁷⁹.

76 Cf. figs.2,3. See also Sauneron, BIFAO 72,1972,pl.53.

77 Presumably, the space in front of the enclosure wall of the village proper within the guarded part of the valley of Deir el-Medina would be an appropriate site for such a storeroom.

78 We assume that the word I3ty was omitted by mistake; the remaining titles and name guarantee that it was the vizier.

79 Line 9 of the same ostrakon mentions: 3bd 4 3ht sw 22, ʔw.tw hr sm3-t3.

There hardly seems to be any doubt that the incident occurred at Deir el-Medina, but why should the scribe use the term t3 ʔnt instead of p3 dmt or the general term p3 hr? According to our interpretation of the term, this would mean that the Vizier came up to the workmen but did not actually enter their village. We may visualize the scene as follows: Even if the Vizier condescends to come to the workmen, that does not mean that he would walk into the village and look personally for the captains of the crew. Instead, as soon as anyone, possibly the ʔryw-C3, saw him coming from afar, the captains would have been immediately alerted and would have come out of the village to meet him. Since his urgent business was with the captains themselves, there would have been no need for the Vizier to remain there or to enter the village but he would have been promptly escorted back to his headquarters. Thus the scribe would have been right when he marked in the journal that on that day the Vizier had arrived at the wadi and talked with the captains. Could this incident have happened in the Valley of the Kings? In principle, if one disregards its date, it could. There, however, we could have found no excuse for the use of t3 ʔnt instead of the much commoner ʃht C3t. Moreover, if, because of the urgency of their work, they had remained there over the decade end, we would have expected some mention that the crew worked on the nineteenth, just as we have for the twentieth.

Exx.4 and 5 mention deliveries of materials to the workmen at r n t3 ʔnt. The more one studies the organisation of the community of workmen, the more one becomes convinced that much effort had been devoted to the isolation of the Royal Necropoleis from the outside world, allowing only the needed workmen and their superiors to the vicinity of the Royal Tombs⁸⁰. Those who used to bring the materials, however, were normally members of the smdt n bnr or alternatively ʔryw-C3⁸¹. These were not allowed to come into contact with the Inside otherwise than by bringing the items to the vicinity of the village, or, in the case of the ʔryw-C3, to the open space at its front⁸².

80 This idea is discussed in more detail in the concluding chapter, p.171ff.
81 See above, p.108(nn.8,14).

82 It has been established, for instance, that water was carried to a large central container situated outside the village proper. This must have been as far as the water-carriers were allowed to go (escorted by the door-keeper). From there, it was the workman on duty and other dwellers of the village who had to carry water to the large containers on the main street of the village. Cf.Christophe, BIE 36,1955,395-97.

From there, the workmen themselves could have carried whatever was needed to the working site. For that purpose one of the workmen was on duty-leave from work every day, according to a rigid schedule. His was the responsibility to receive and keep or transport the materials according to the needs⁸³.

If r n t3 ʔnt were the entrance to the Valley of the Kings, as has been claimed, and if outsiders were allowed as far inside as that, no real secrecy could have been maintained⁸⁴.

We have already mentioned the ʔryw-c3 and have shown that they were employed at the village. Their inspection post was situated, according to our assumption, at the very place which we propose was r n t3 ʔnt. Among other duties, these door-keepers used to receive provisions and materials brought from the outside to the necropolis⁸⁵. That, we feel, was the only point of contact between the outside and the community of workmen, and there is no need to seek an additional one nearer the actual working sites.

While discussing the htm we saw that the hryw-md3yw were the official messengers of the regional administration to p3 hr⁸⁶; thus, the arrival of two (hryw)-md3yw⁸⁷ on a decade end to "the Entrance of the Valley" bearing a message⁸⁸ could have hardly occurred elsewhere than at the entrance to Deir el-Medina, the natural and closest point of contact between the htm and p3 hr.

Černý has commented on our Ex.9 as follows: "It is clear that whatever these 'monuments' were, the only way to bring them there led through Wadiyen"⁸⁹. If this statement were exact we would have to concede that r n t3 ʔnt and t3 ʔnt itself were after all situated in the region of the Valley of the Kings rather than in that of Deir el-Medina. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Černý himself has an altogether different interpretation for that passage when he deals with the term n3 hrw, elsewhere in his book⁹⁰.

83 See Černý, ZĀS 72, 1936, 115 n.2. Helck (ZDMG 105, 1955, 27ff.) sets up a detailed list of the rotation schedule.

84 The distance from the site that has been proposed for r n t3 ʔnt (cf. n.61) to the central region of the Valley of the Kings is no more than 250 meters.

85 See Černý, Community, 173.


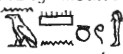

86 See p.98 above.

87 For this restitution of the title see Černý, Community, 263 n.1.

88 This is our Ex.6.

89 Černý, Community, 93. Ex.9 will be discussed even though it bears a II Šmw date (see p.151 n.41) because the term is r n t3 ʔnt and not t3 ʔnt.

90 Černý, Community, 11 and n.6.

"A similar group of tombs (referring to several tombs in the Valley of the Queens) is possibly meant by the plural  at the entrance of which some monuments  were deposited". In the footnote he adds: "though its provenance (of the ostrakon in question) is Deir el-Medina and not the Valley of the Queens, the hr were probably situated there since the ostrakon speaks of  'entrance of the Valley'."

Actually I do not believe that Wadiyen was utilized for the transport of anything but oversize blocks, its main use being as a causeway for the royal funerary cortege. As for the mnw in question, we have no idea about their size or nature; mnw can be anything from a small offering bowl to a whole building⁹¹; however, the determinative in our example is suggestive of statuettes or effigies. Vernus⁹² has suggested something analogous to an obelisk. The closest possible analogy to an obelisk that I can think of is a pyramidion, but then, even pyramidions were not utilized in the royal tombs at that period. On the other hand, wooden statues representing the dead royal occupant of the tomb have actually been discovered⁹³ and were apparently used in the "Opening of the Mouth" ritual at the interment⁹⁴. That ritual did take place beside the entrance of the tomb. The date of the ostrakon is not supplied by Černý so that we cannot identify the burials. The use of the plural n3 hrw indicates that these could have only been royal burials at the Valley of the Queens and an actual multiple burial is indeed recorded there (see n.102, below). Under these conditions Wadiyen should be dismissed in favor of Deir el-Medina or the entrance to the Valley of the Queens.

The Valley of the Queens is in fact termed t3 ʔnt C3t in Pap.Abbott⁹⁵ but it should not be confused with our t3 ʔnt. The place is so termed in Pap. Abbott only after it has been well defined otherwise⁹⁶, so that the reader knows exactly that the Valley of the Queens is intended; in this case, the term cannot be considered as a toponym at all. The dates of our examples, as well as the contents of at least one among them, Ex.7, do not support the identification of t3 ʔnt and r n t3 ʔnt with the region of the Valley

91 Cf. Said Taufik, MDAIK 27, 1971, 227ff; Vandersleyen, RdÉ 19, 1967, 149(55).

92 Vernus, BIFAO 76, 1976, 11(w).

93 See the citation of Belzoni's discovery of the tomb of Ramesses I in Thomas, RNT, 104, as well as nn.15 and 16.

94 Ibid., 104. Also p.95 n.275.

95 Pap.Abbott 5,5 (Peet, GTR, p1.3).

96 Pap.Abbott 4, 11-12 (ibid., p1.2).

of the Queens.

Ex.10 is rather hard to interpret even though the full text has now been published. All the references to its contents that can be gleaned from Černý's publications deal with its verso. Comparing them with the published text we can reconstruct part of it as follows: The beginning of the verso down to line 6 contains the enumeration of various parts of a royal tomb such as passages and halls whose capacity is measured in dnyt⁹⁷. Line 6 contains the total thereof⁹⁸. Lines 7-9 deal with halls lying further back⁹⁹. Line 11 bears a date in year 2 of Ramesses VI¹⁰⁰. Line 15, the one we are interested in, mentions the sealing up after the burial was over¹⁰¹. Line 17 mentions work done in the Valley of the Queens for "the six burials"¹⁰². Line 18 contains a mention of t3 whyt n p3 hr¹⁰³. For the purpose of the following analysis we shall assume that the entries were made in chronological order and that the fragmentary information we possess in the papyrus does not present a distorted picture of the real events.

The first part, which may or may not refer to the elements of KV 9¹⁰⁴, is not necessarily connected to the rest of the text. The significant information for our purpose is the date, year 2 of Ramesses VI, the hint regarding some burial at the Valley of the Kings, the subsequent sealing up, and immediately after that, the shift of interest to the Valley of the Queens and the six burials there. In this setting one may not disregard another piece of evidence about a royal burial that occurred on year 2 (of Ramesses VI), namely Ostr.Cairo CG 25254 mentioning the burial of Ramesses V on year 2, II 3ht 1¹⁰⁵. It would be surprising if there were no connection between those two incidents inasmuch as royal burials did not occur too frequently. A date in early II 3ht can be therefore assigned to our passage in line 15. The surprising feature of the document is the mention of no less than six burials in the Valley of the Queens at a time that, judging by the proximity of the passage to the previous entry, could have

97 Černý, VK, 27 n.11; 28 nn.5,8; 29 nn.3,7.

98 Ibid., 21 n.1; 31 n.9.

99 Ibid., 32 nn.3,4.

100 Ibid., 21, 25.

101 Černý, Community, 93 n.9.

102 Ibid., 89 n.5.

103 Ibid., 92 n.2.

104 Cf. Černý, VK, 21. KV 9 is the tomb started by Ramesses V and finished by Ramesses VI who was actually buried in it.

105 Ostr.Cairo CG 25254. See Daressy, Ostraca CGC, pl.54, p.66; Černý, CAH², 9 n.2; Kitchen, RI VI, 343.

followed closely the royal burial. It is not our purpose to provide explanations for that extraordinary situation; those were troubled years, as Černý has pointed out¹⁰⁶, and on top of that, if Ramesses V really died of smallpox¹⁰⁷, some of his close relatives could have easily contracted that highly contagious and mortal disease.

In this context, we should understand the sentence db^C r-š3^C m r n t3 ʔnt r -hry as "sealing off" with the connotation of "fencing off the area" or "placing out of bounds"¹⁰⁸ the whole area from the entrance to Deir el-Medina which was at the same time the starting point of the path leading to the Valley of the Kings and presumably the last point of inspection of those who followed that direction, upwards¹⁰⁹. The regulation must have been directed against unnecessary wandering of workmen to the Valley of the Kings, where the newly occupied royal tomb might have attracted easy thefts. The haste of preparation of six burials at the Valley of the Queens must have necessitated the transfer of all available manpower there, resulting in the suspension of the activities at the site of the Valley of the Kings; hence the "sealing up". The literal interpretation of the verb db^C is "sealing through the application of a seal". In this instance, however, the verb cannot be understood literally, even if one were to identify r n t3 ʔnt with the entrance to the Valley of the Kings or any other valley for that matter¹¹⁰. The path leading to the Valley of the Queens started near the southwestern part of the village, so that the access to that valley was not affected by the 'sealing off'.

Examples 11 and 12 should not bother us too much. The very existence of Ex. 12, as we have seen, diminishes the probability that Ex.11 belongs to the group we are interested in. Anyway, since both these examples and others

106 Ibid. This view has been challenged by several scholars: Kitchen, JEA 58, 1972, 193; idem, JEA 68, 1982, 122; Thomas, RNT, 135 n.80.

107 Harris/Weeks, X-Raying, 166.

108 Cf. Černý's remark: "'Sealed up' means that access was forbidden" (Černý, JEA 15, 1929, 247(14)). The same meaning is implied in Ostr. Vienna AEG.1 + Ostr. IFAO 628 1.14 (Zonhoven, JEA 65, 1979, 90).

109 See fig.3.

110 Černý mentions a very similar passage taken from an ostrakon dated to year 25 of Ramesses III, Ostr. Gardiner 221, 2-4 (unpublished) (cf. Černý, Community, 90 with nn.10-12). The passage there reads as follows: ʔiw.tw m sht c3(t) hr db^C m p3 kbkb r-š3^C r hry which he translates: "one was in the Great Field sealing with the rubble(?) to the top(?)". He admits, however, that the passage is of obscure meaning, and rightly so, for what could it really mean? Following our interpretation of Ex.10, we ought to be able to understand this text better. To do so, we should alter the meaning that was given by Černý to p3 kbkb. There is no need,

of similar nature, are most probably datable to Dynasty XXI¹¹¹, at which period the workmen had long left their dwellings at Deir el-Medina, we should not expect the terminology concerning their former surroundings to have been conserved or utilized with the same connotations as before.

To complete this survey of documents, we shall attempt to follow the course of events in Ex.7, the only one that is dated to a working day. On the thirteenth of II 3ht of year 8 of Merneptah¹¹², all four principal members

in fact, to keep this interpretation about which Černý himself was very hesitant. The article speaks against the meaning "rubble", and particularly the determinative. I would think that we have here an additional toponym (the determinative is the same as in mryt, sh, imntt; the article is also common to many toponyms of p3 hr). If we remember that sh /sh C3t should not be necessarily confined to the Valley of the Kings proper, but could apply to the whole region surrounding it to include the col, the inner part of the path leading from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, and probably the West Valley as well (see below, p.186 nn.47-48), we obtain once again the same kind of activity as in Ex.10. Thus the passage should be probably rendered as follows: "Being in sh C3t in the process of sealing off (the region) from p3 kbkb upwards". This time the sealing off was effected from a site nearer the Valley of the Kings than in our example 10, and there should be some reason for that. We know, for instance, that the path to the Valley of the Kings was maintained yearly, even though the workmen were mostly busy at that period in the Valley of the Queens. Those working on the path might have wandered to the Valley of the Kings proper; in order to avoid that, or for any other reason which we are not able to unravel, the path over most of its length should probably be accessible, but not the part nearest to the Valley of the Kings. (For work on the path see Ostr.Turin 57027 rto.1-2, probably datable to year 23 of Ramesses III according to the verso; Lopez, Ostraca Ieratici I, pl.16a; Ostr.Turin 57031 vso.1-3, *ibid.*, pl.20a, of year 25 which is the same year as the one of Ostr.Gardiner 221 we have been discussing).

- 111 The scribe ²Is-sw-p3-nfr-hr mentioned in both graffiti is dated by Černý to the Late Dynasty XX or Dynasty XXI (Community, 214 (No.46)). The name does not occur in the documents of the Late Dynasty XX such as the Tomb Robberies, the Late Ramesside Letters, the 'Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe', or the late 'Ramesside Administrative Documents'. Helck (Materialien, 36) speaks of a scribe of the Temple of Amon bearing that name, whom he dates to the time of Hry-Hr based upon the inscriptions of Theban Tomb 68. Porter and Moss, however, mention a later usurpation of the tomb by the "head of the temple-scribes of the estate of Amon" ²Is-sw-p3-nfr-hr, to be dated to the reign of Siamun (PM, I/1, 133).
- 112 The dating of the ostrakon is easy because of the names of the high officials involved. One may also connect the activities dealt with in Ostr.Cairo CG 25504, with those mentioned in Theban Graffito 83 mentioning Merneptah (Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 11).

of the administration of the htm arrived bearing a message. We are not told to which place they arrived but their habit was to come to the village or rather to its entrance with this kind of message, and the unfolding of events seems to back this assumption. They passed on the message that the Chief Craftsman Rm had arrived at the htm. Though nothing further is said about that mission of the four, we may add that they demanded that the three captains of the crew be sent immediately to meet him at the htm, presumably on Rm's request, and further, they may have given instructions to the people of the Inside to get ready for an official visit, and since the crew was at that time away from the village at work, they may have personally occupied themselves with some urgent matters to that effect; otherwise it would seem superfluous for all four administrators of the Outside to come just to deliver the message. Next, the captains were in fact dispatched to the waiting Chief Craftsman who announced to them Pharaoh's actions. Pharaoh had sent three distinguished persons to p3 hr. These were the Vizier Pn-Shmt, the overseer of the Treasury Mry-Pth and the scribe of the sculptors' workshop HwY.

The next move took place on the fourteenth, at which time they (presumably the three captains and the Chief Craftsman) came to r n t3 3nt but the Vizier did not come with them. This last clause is a little ambiguous; does "with them" refer back to those who did come to r n t3 3nt or does it refer to those who were supposed to come with the Vizier in the first place? The latter seems to be the correct interpretation in view of the later developments¹¹³. At this point the text is damaged, so that we cannot be sure if

¹¹³ Černý has not understood the text as we have. According to him, "the 'overseer of the Treasury' and a scribe 'came to the entrance of the Valley with the copy of a letter of Pharaoh'" (Černý, Community, 93). For another translation see Logan, Serapis 2, 1970, 33-34. We assume that hnC.w is the correct reading despite its rarity (cf. Černý/Groll, LEG, 104). Now the scribe HwY could not have been one of those who did come to r n t3 3nt on the fourteenth, since we are told that he arrived with the Vizier two days later. Apart from HwY, only the overseer of the treasury remains from among the companions of the Vizier and he cannot be referred to in the plural hnC.w. We may possibly have here an indication to the difference between hnC and irm; two groups are involved in this passage: Group A- the captains and Rm; Group B- the Vizier and his companions. Had the scribe wanted to deal only with Group B-, saying that (the Vizier's companions) came to the entrance of the Valley but the Vizier himself did not come with them, he would have used irm.w. This, we have seen, is not what happened. 3lw.w hr 3i r r t3 3nt refers to Group A-; thus the captains and Rm did come while the Vizier and they (i.e., and his companions), did not. Thus the whole group of the expected visitors did not come.

the captains are spoken to or whether they themselves are the speakers. We may assume that at this stage the captains were informed of Pharaoh's wish to accord special rewards¹¹⁴ for the commissions that their workmen had already performed. Next we learn that the Vizier arrived on the sixteenth, together with the scribe of the sculptors' workshop. The latter remained there, at the village(?), working on the wooden coffin for two days, while the Chief Craftsman went to "the Field". On the eighteenth, that is after the two days' work of the scribe, the coffin was transported to a place the name of which is lost, but which could hardly be other than the Valley of the Kings. That transport was presumably the commission that the workmen had been expected to perform, for on the twentieth one of the high officials, probably the Vizier, went to p3 htm n p3 hr to give out the special rewards.

Like the majority of our examples, this document does not give a clearcut solution to the problem we are investigating. It can, in principle, lend itself to other interpretations as well; its special contribution to our point of view is however secure. The date on which r n t3 3nt is mentioned, even though a working day, has to do with the arrival of the captains of the crew and their important guest, after the former had been summoned from the working site. Therefore the place to which they came need no longer have anything to do with the working site i.e. the Valley of the Kings.

Before leaving this subject, there is one question which might still need clarification: Why is it that r n t3 3nt is mentioned in the documents more frequently than t3 3nt itself? None of the proposals for identification of "the Valley" that were mentioned hitherto, except for the one that we have proposed, presents the Valley as a site less important and therefore less apt to be mentioned than its entrance. Indeed, the only way to reconcile the close familiarity with the site, which is inherent in a term such as t3 3nt, with the scarcity of its occurrence in the documents, is to adhere to the new solution that has been advanced. The occasions for mentioning the wadi in which the village was situated, rather than the village itself, would be understandably limited. On the other hand, the entrance of that wadi was at the same time a very important landmark in the region because of its commanding position and its utilization as an inspection post which was also the separating line between the Inside and the Outside. This can easily explain the more numerous examples mentioning r (n) t3 3nt. If

114 For that meaning of the word mkw see Janssen, CPRP, 489f.

t3 ʔnt were the Valley of the Kings or any smaller portion thereof, or the Valley of the Queens, one would expect to find it mentioned much more frequently.

Hence, t3 ʔnt was the wadi of Deir el-Medina and r t3 ʔnt the northern entrance to that wadi.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS

In the following pages, we shall assess the cumulative effect of the fresh information that has been gradually building up (naturally within the limitations of the particular selection of terms discussed) upon the commonly accepted picture of the Theban Necropolis and its community of workmen, as drawn by Černý, Thomas and others.

The most significant divergence from the traditional views concerns the village of Deir el-Medina. The realization that well-attested sites and installations which had been previously associated with the Valley of the Kings, and particularly the Royal Tomb, belonged in fact to the immediate vicinity of the settlement of the workmen at Deir el-Medina, should affect our entire outlook concerning the relative importance of that settlement within the administration of the Necropolis.

With the translocation of t3 ỉnt, r (n) t3 ỉnt, t3 5 ỉnbt and the services of the (ỉryw-)^{C3} to Deir el-Medina, the transfer of p3 htm n p3 hr to the region of the plain which is closest to Deir el-Medina and the realization that the term p3 hr itself should include the region of Deir el-Medina, the village of the workmen emerges as a center of activity comparable to that of the Valley of the Kings in its domestic importance, and yet quite different from it in its character.

In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the documents of the Necropolis, numerous though they are, present what is basically a biased attitude towards the region and its focal points, the point of view of the local population. We may speculate that if we had had as many documents about the Theban Necropolis stemming from the Egyptian authorities, as we actually have from the local administration of p3 hr, the results would have been quite different, inasmuch as the authorities were primarily interested in the Royal Valleys and the tomb-building activity that was taking place there. Other sites or installations in p3 hr were to them necessary at best, and, at times, trouble causing trivialities.

The hitherto accepted view about the Theban Necropolis administration, as portrayed in Černý's A Community of Workmen..., places a disproportionate emphasis on the Valley of the Kings, as if that view had been deduced from a corpus of documents pertaining to the central Egyptian administration. It does not take into account the fact that the documentation at hand is of

local origin and a well balanced one too, in the sense that besides the texts dealing with the actual tomb-building occupations, it includes numerous attestations of incidents and routine activities which pertain to the private lives of the workmen, attestations that have nothing to do with their work in the Royal Valleys and which are frequently dated to decade-end and feast days. When one considers the fact that most workmen of the Necropolis had been born in Deir el-Medina, had been raised in its surroundings and had never experienced life and social activity in a different place, one can realize how prominent a role the village must have played in their minds, and should thus find it easier to endorse the tendency of the new definitions to elevate Deir el-Medina to its true and proper status.

Having come up with two centers of comparable importance instead of one, we might conveniently summarize the particular features of each with an emphasis on the differences, in order to make their respective functions within the whole more apparent.

The Royal Valleys, and particularly the Valley of the Kings, were august, secret, concealed, guarded, unapproachable sites, and at the same time, the working sites of the inhabitants of p3 hr.

The region of Deir el-Medina was neither august, nor secret or concealed. It was a rather isolated, guarded and only selectively approachable site. It was the dwelling place of the workmen and the seat of all their activities other than their main occupation which was tomb-building for the king and the royal family. It was moreover, the only region in which inhabitants of p3 hr who were not members of the working crew or their immediate superiors were normally allowed to spend their lives.

We may have used new expressions to describe those two sites, but the basic ideas have been known and accepted for a long time. The problem with the "classical" interpretation of the Community of Workmen has been that, when it came to definitions of terms or to the description of various details, care was not always taken to abide by the aforementioned distinction between the features of the two centers. As a consequence, what had been accepted in theory became gradually blurred to oblivion in practice. By showing the definitions to be compatible with the "theoretical" differentiation after all, or better, to demand it, we have paved the way for the elimination of this anomalous situation. Thus, for instance, the claim that the site of the Valley of the Kings was meant to be kept secret was not always adhered to in some of the definitions proposed by Černý, as can be realized

from his discussions on p3 htm n p3 hr or the iryw-C3. One should admit, however, that in matters of such importance, measures are either taken effectively or not taken at all. Knowing the record of success in putting through complicated plans by the ancient Egyptian administration and bureaucracy as we do, knowing to what ends the Egyptian authorities had resorted in order to guarantee that the site of the Royal Tomb should remain unknown (such as breaking with the age-old tradition that the Royal Mortuary Temple should be physically adjacent to the Royal Tomb, or that the latter should be capped by a built pyramid); knowing the personal interest of Pharaoh in the matter, and knowing finally, that workmen and supervisors alike were subjected to unending discomforts for the sake of secrecy, we ought to be very suspicious of interpretations which tolerate, and even require, blatant breaches of secrecy in this matter as the one referred to above¹.

The measures taken for the safeguarding of the Royal Tombs gain considerably in coherence and consistency if viewed in terms of the results of the present study. As we have been accustomed to expect, a minutely detailed plan can be now shown to have existed. The fact that the Royal Tombs were eventually robbed should not discredit the effectiveness of the planning, but should be rather attributed to the inability of the authorities to adapt that plan to the ever changing conditions.

The following list of measures adopted to safeguard the Royal Tomb will serve to illustrate our point, and will present, at the same time, a characteristic picture of the conditions of life in the Community of Workmen of the Ramesside Period.

A. Measures for keeping the location of the Valley of the Kings secret².

1. The site was chosen so that it would not be seen from any point to

¹ See for instance, pp.87,161.

² At this stage we do not intend to put forward additional argumentation unless it becomes absolutely necessary. Most items have been already mentioned, studied and annotated in the main text; others are generally accepted facts or theories, and a couple are educated guesses. Citations will be supplied only in case of controversial statements or when individual documents are involved.

The validity of many arguments cannot be guaranteed past year 14 of Rameses IX. Considerable changes must have occurred during the late years of that king, which ought to be studied separately. A drastic change in the nature of the documents and their provenance, which took place at approximately that same period, may be an additional factor responsible for this situation.

which a person might have access through innocent wondering³.

2. The path leading from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings was made to pass through rough, unfrequented territory, its starting point being guarded by the "door-keepers" of p3 hr. The implication was that whoever could set out on the path, could also reach the Valley of the Kings by merely following it.
3. The access to the path and to the Valley of the Kings was forbidden to all but the members of the working crew, their close supervisors and a mere handful of officials of the highest rank such as the Vizier, the Chief Craftsman and a couple of Royal Butlers. Members of the workmen's families were not allowed in the Valley or even on the path leading to it.
4. The smdt n bnr who were employed by the authorities of p3 hr and whose duties included repeated ascents to p3 hr, were never allowed anywhere near the region of the Valley of the Kings.
5. The members of the working crew could cope with every problem that the actual tomb-building process could create without recourse to assistance from the outside. They were not trained for, and therefore did not participate in the preparation of the objects which should be put into the royal tomb.
6. Combining items 3 and 5 we may conclude that all pieces of mortuary furniture for the royal tomb were prepared away from the Valley of the Kings. One may assume that these special items were manufactured in the royal workshops and then shipped to Western Thebes in order to be transferred to the Valley of the Kings⁴. The workmen were responsible for the last part of that transfer, i.e., from the r (n) t3 3nt at Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings and to the tomb itself⁵ (naturally this does not include items which were needed for the actual funerary procession).

3 In this context one is reminded of the words written by ³Innī regarding the construction of the tomb of Tuthmosis I: Iw m3.n.ī 33d hr t nt hm.f m wCw, n m33, n sdm. "I supervised the excavation of his Majesty's tomb in privacy, there being no watching, no overhearing" (Urk.IV,57.3-5); See, however, Nims's reservations regarding the significance of this passage mentioned by E.Thomas, RNT, 71.

4 See for instance Ostr.Edgerton 14 in Černý/Gardiner, HO, p1.55, 2.

5 See for instance Ostr.Turin N.57366 discussed in pp.149, 161-62, above; Ostr.Cairo CG 25504 rto., in Černý, Ostraca CGC, 2*.

7. On rare occasions, because of unpredicted developments such as last minute changes of the decoration of the sarcophagus after it had been transferred to the Necropolis, or the workmen's inability to reassemble successfully in the tomb objects which had been shipped in a dismantled state, or again for a last minute correction of an error of construction or the mending of a breakage during transfer, outsiders who were qualified craftsmen had to be admitted into the Valley of the Kings. This situation might create a serious violation of secrecy and was treated accordingly; there are grounds to believe that the craftsmen were blindfolded while being escorted to the valley and back⁶; this measure in itself could guarantee that they would never be able to find their way back to that place or pass the secret on to others. While on the spot, they were kept under unfailing supervision by one of the captains of the crew; they were urged to get done with the specific job for which they had been brought as quickly as possible, even at the expense of having

6 It would have been odd if this idea had not occurred to the administrators of the Necropolis. A clear mention of blindfolding is to be found in the account of an inspection of the Valley of the Queens by a party of officials who had brought along a coppersmith suspected of having robbed tombs there. Hr ir I3ty p3 wb3w (hr) dit it3.tw p3 hmty r h3t.w r n3 swt iw.f Cfnw m rmt s3w dri; iw.tw hr dit n.f irt.f m dr ph.f st. (Pap. Abbott 4,17 - 15,1. Cf. Peet, GTR, pls. 2-3). "And when the Vizier and the (royal) butler caused the coppersmith to be brought along in front of them to the "places", blindfolded as a close prisoner, he was given his sight when he reached them".

This being the only example of blindfolding in the documents of the Theban Necropolis, it is important to determine whether the blindfolding of the accused was demanded by the circumstances of that specific investigation or whether one may assume that it was the standard procedure, applied whenever an outsider had to be introduced to the Royal Valleys. The situation in the Valley of the Queens is such that, even when standing only a few meters away from a given tomb, an illiterate coppersmith (if innocent of having robbed that tomb) would have no means of knowing that that was the tomb he was supposed to have robbed. By blindfolding him the investigators would defeat their own purpose for they would never get to know whether the coppersmith failed to point at the right tomb because he really knew nothing about it or because he had become confused by the blindfolding and had consequently lost his orientation in the valley. Since the text insists upon the efforts that were made to refresh his memory, we may safely conclude that blindfolding had nothing to do with that particular incident, but must have been standard procedure; and if it was deemed necessary for a visit to the Valley of the Queens, it must have been all the more so for the Valley of the Kings.

- to work all night⁷. This measure was designed to deprive them of the opportunity if not the energy to wander about.
8. Down to the beginning of Dynasty 20, an additional precaution required that occupied royal tombs should be completely dissimulated by having their entrance trenches covered up⁸.
 9. Observation posts were constructed at strategic points from which the md3yw-policemen of p3 hr could inspect the region in order to spot would-be trespassers. Other policemen patrolled on foot or donkey-back⁹. These police activities were performed from the elevated fringe region of the Inside¹⁰, and we have no indication that the md3yw were allowed in the Valley of the Kings proper. They certainly were not responsible for maintaining peace and order among the workmen¹¹.
 10. Some breach of secrecy was bound to take place during the royal funerals. When one comes to think of it, it is rather odd that royal funerals are never described in the documents of the Necropolis, despite the fact that on several occasions the crew's participation in the ceremony is reported¹². Most prominently absent from our texts are lists of officials who might have been present in a royal funeral, despite the passion of the scribes for reporting all arrivals of high officials at the Necropolis. On this particular subject there is a total and perhaps

7 According to the account of Pap.Turin Cat.2002 rto.IV,18 (Pleyte/Rossi, Papyrus de Turin,pl.107), craftsmen spent the night hammering on both sides of an alabaster shrine, until dawn (Černý,Community,12). The lines immediately preceding this passage have been translated above, pp.32-34.

8 See Černý,VK,7.

9 Cf.Černý,Community,277,284.

10 Idem,VK,2.

11 Černý takes the opposite view in this matter (Community,278), but the only evidence he offers in support of his view (ibid.,n.6) has to do with the role played by the hryw md3yw during the strikes; it should be remembered, however, that the latter were officials of the htm who had no access to, let alone jurisdiction in, the working sites or the village of Deir el-Medina. The case of the Strikes Papyrus should, on the contrary, convince us that md3yw never interfered in internal problems, leaving the coast clear for the captains, the idnww and the 3tw-officials to act. Janssen is therefore wrong in trying to equate the titles 3tw and hryw md3yw (CPRP,26 n.10). His suggestion is based on the assumption that line 15 in Pap.Turin Cat.2021,4 (for which see now Allam,HOUF Plates,pl.119) is a heading while lines 16-21 contain items which should be related to that heading. In reality, each line in that list of officials, from 4,4 to 4,21, is a separate entity as can be gathered by consulting line 12.

12 See for instance Ostr.DM 40 rto.15 (Černý,Ostraca DM I,pl.22); Ostr.Cairo CG 25792,9 (idem,Ostraca CGC,112*); Pap.BM 10055 rto.1,4-8 (Černý,JEA 15, 1929,pl.42).

significant lack of information¹³.

11. Assuming that the very limited number of high officials who were allowed in the Valley of the Kings were entrusted with the secret of its location, there remain the workmen themselves and their superiors whom the authorities must have learned by that time to distrust. A whole series of measures was devised to counteract any attempt on their part to turn the secret over to others. In principle, it would have been relatively easy to impose secrecy on the workmen but for the decision of the authorities not to resort to methods that would make their lives unbearable. The measures can be summarized as follows:
12. The settlement of the workmen was built at a safe but manageable distance from the Valley of the Kings. This measure would discourage clandestine (nocturnal) visits by workmen, or ambitious relatives residing in the village, to the Valley, even if other precautions were to fail. On the other hand, the village in question was built in an isolated location off the beaten track in Western Thebes, yet close enough to the centers of administration to enable supervision and supply of essentials.
13. All persons with whom the workmen might come into contact without supervision, such as members of their families, were considered as potential bearers of the secret of the Valley of the Kings, and were consequently isolated from the outside world just like the workmen themselves. Those families were confined to the village of Deir el-Medina and its immediate surroundings, being denied further entry to the Inside or exit to the Outside. In this respect, the lot of the captains of the crew and their families was the same as that of the ordinary workmen.
14. To achieve maximal isolation of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, the authorities encouraged a considerable degree of self government and independence for the community of workmen in matters for which they would have otherwise had recourse to government or other officials from the Outside.
15. Measures were taken to enclose the village by means of a high wall and to guard its entrance so that unauthorized outsiders could not enter and

¹³ The evidence from the funerary banquet of Twt-Cnh-³Imn in which eight people seem to have been involved (Winlock, Materials, 14) is of much too early a period to be of any consequence for our discussion. The evidence of documents such as Ostr. BM 5624 vso (Blackman, JEA 12, 1926, 176ff) or Ostr. Toronto A.11 (Gardiner et al., Theban Ostraca, 16) tends to date the reorganization of Deir el-Medina after the Amarna Period to year 7 of Horemheb. The rules we are discussing can therefore be no earlier than that, and are probably much later.

unauthorized inmates could not leave. The gate in question was termed nšp or p3 htm n dmt. A rigid schedule of daily watches was organized among the workmen so that even when the crew was away at work, there was always one representative on the spot to guard the entrance or to inform the others, if need arose, of extraordinary incidents, inasmuch as he, and only he, could be allowed to go freely to the working site at the Valley of the Kings. By this means, urgently needed materials at the building site could be transferred as soon as they were received from the Outside at the village.

16. At the northern outskirts of the village, past the open square which was situated in front of the gate of the encompassing wall, at the northern entrance to the valley of Deir el-Medina (r n t3 int), the path was blocked and an inspection post was erected. That point was the limit of p3 hr in that direction. The line between the Inside and the Outside passed there. People, places and things termed by the workmen n bnr should be sought in the Outside, beyond that point. The smdt n bnr would carry provisions for the community only up to that point. The rw dw n bnr would act from further out, from p3 htm n p3 hr. The knbt bnr likewise.
17. The "entrance of the Valley" was manned by the "door-keepers" of p3 hr, who were essentially n bnr but not members of the smdt n bnr. Among their duties was the reception of all provisions brought by the smdt, the reception of all messages brought by the representatives of the htm, the inspection of authorizations held by outsiders to proceed further in, to the path leading to the Valley of the Kings or to the settlement of the workmen. They would also provide an escort for individuals from the village who were authorized to leave it.
The "door-keepers" seem to have acted as intermediaries between members of the smdt n bnr and residents of p3 hr who wanted to take advantage of the daily arrival of those outsiders to entrust them with private commissions, since the smdt were not allowed to get in touch with the residents¹⁴.
18. All contacts between p3 hr and the outside were effected from the region of Deir el-Medina. This includes the transport of food and essentials,

¹⁴ Cf. Černý, Community, 173 nn.8-10. The marked popularity of policemen and water-carriers as bearers of private commissions was probably due to the frequency of their ascents to Deir el-Medina.

even if those essentials were destined for the work at the Valley of the Kings; the transport of furniture to be placed in the royal tomb; the arrival of messages and orders; the ascent of official visitors or of skilled craftsmen, the descent of the captains, the whole crew or individuals to the plain of the royal mortuary temples, the strikes of the workmen etc..

The region of Deir el-Medina, and primarily the checkpoint at r n t3 ʔnt was, in a way, the show-window of p3 hr.

The Valley of the Kings was secret and unknown. The region of Deir el-Medina was known but "of forbidden entry", and since Deir el-Medina represented p3 hr outwardly, we hear of p3 hr hnr "p3 hr of forbidden entry", rather than *p3 hr ʃt3 or *p3 hr ʔmn, and since it represented the Inside, we hear of p3 hnw hnr "the Inside of forbidden entry".

19. The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina who were not members of the working crews had a double set of terms involving hnw and bnr. They were obviously n hnw relatively to the outside world, but at the same time, they were n bnr in relation to the working site in the Valley of the Kings. The latter differentiation figures in so many words only in one document as far as I could check, Ostr.Cairo CG 25234¹⁵ where t3 ʔst on the one hand, and n3y.w hrdw, n3y.w hmw on the other, are further designated by n hny myt for the former, and n bnr (myt) for the latter. Thus the workmen were "of the inner (end) of the path", while their families were "of its outer (end)". The path in question was the one which led from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings¹⁶, and the added specification was obviously needed to distinguish this unusual use of n hnw and n bnr from their normal one.
20. Provisions received by the "door-keepers" at the "entrance of the valley" were brought by them to the opening in front of the village where they could be stored or handed over to the workman on duty. From that stage on, the "door-keeper" was not involved any more inasmuch as he was

15 Dareddy, Ostraca CGC.58. The passage will be quoted and translated at the end of the present list, p.179.

16 For the "path" see also: Ostr.Cairo CG 25558 rto.(Černý, Ostraca CGC, p. 44*); Ostr.Turin 57027 rto.1-2 (Lopez, Ostraca Ieratici I, pl.16a); Ostr.Turin 57031 vso.1-3 (ibid., pl.20a). If the city-determinative is there in our example, it could denote the settlement of the col, appropriately called "the (settlement of the) path" (cf. Marciniak, Deir el-Bahari I, 61, 62(4,3)).

essentially an outsider who was admitted into the village proper only on special occasions and under escort. The final distribution of the provisions to the families or their transfer to the Valley of the Kings were effected by the workmen themselves with their local captains. In that manner, the separation between those of the Inside and those of the Outside was as complete as could be.

21. P3 htm n p3 hr was an additional facility designed to protect the isolation of the inhabitants of p3 hr. Its administration took care of all matters pertaining to the relations between p3 hr and the outer world from its headquarters which were conveniently situated in the plain of the Royal Mortuary Temples, on the path leading up from there to p3 hr. It was thus easily attainable by any officials who might have business with p3 hr, and was so organized as to be able to save them the trip up-hill in the majority of the cases. It was an outpost of p3 hr, and its administration, scribes, chiefs of Police and "door-keepers", were n p3 hr but n bnr.
22. Exits of workmen for interrogation, trial or festivity were quite rare; P3 htm n p3 hr served as an appropriate place for the workmen to come out to (naturally escorted), since it afforded close supervision and the feeling that they were still in the confines of p3 hr. Such outings could also enable inhabitants of p3 hr to meet with relatives from the Outside under controlled conditions. Officials of p3 htm n p3 hr, though trusted and high ranking in terms of the local hierarchy, would rarely come up to the village, and never further inside. They might serve, though, as inspectors and arbitrators in disputes concerning space and ownership in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina¹⁷, which was in t3 ʔnt, but not in the village proper.
23. Trespassers into the region of Deir el-Medina were apprehended, and incidents of that sort were mentioned in the journal¹⁸.
A returning escapee from Deir el-Medina was held by the guardian pending the arrival of official interrogators sent by the Vizier in person¹⁹.
24. During Dynasty XX, an alternative path to the plain from Deir el-Medina came into use. Five checkpost constructions, t3 5 ʔnbt, were put along

17 See for instance Ostr.Florence 2621 (Allam, HOUPI Plates, pl.39); Ostr.BM 5624 (Blackman, JEA 12, 1926, pl.40); Pap.Berlin 10496 (Allam, op.cit., pls. 81, 83); all three documents deal with the same incident.

18 Ostr.Cairo CG 25302 I, 2ff. (See above, p.146).

19 Ostr.Cairo CG 25831 rto.7-9, vso.1-3. (See above, p.123 Ex.13).

that path to safeguard the isolation of the village. Our information about these checkpoints does not provide details about the way they were operated.

The foregoing list is a survey of the measures adopted by the authorities for the sole purpose of protecting the secret of the Valley of the Kings from leaking out. This being the theory, in practice many schemes for by-passing some of the rules were devised by the workmen, and some may have actually succeeded. The repeated strikes of mid-Dynasty XX must have administered a serious blow to this delicate plan, inasmuch as workmen left the premises of their village repeatedly, and engaged in discussions with various priests employed in the Royal Mortuary Temples without any supervision.

A specific violation of secrecy regulations is denounced by a former deputy of the crew, ²¹Imn-h^C, who had been promoted to the status of inspector²⁰. From his accusation it turns out that outsiders were allowed to stay in the village, and they were allowed to see the sacred images at night without supervision.

The joint festival of Amenophis I, in which both workmen of the crew and members of the smdt n bnr allegedly participated during four full days of celebrations, would have been an inexplicable deviation from the above-mentioned rules if we were to accept Černý's interpretation of Ostr.Cairo CG 25234²¹, which was endorsed by Janssen²². Černý transcribes:

Hsbt 7 3bd 3 Prt, sw 29. ²Iw.tw m p3 hb ^C3 n nswt ²Imn-htp ^C.w.s. P3-nb-p3-dmīt. ²Iw t3 īst m h^C ^Cwy m b3h.f m 4 hrww drīw n swī hn^C n3y.w hrdw m mītt n3y.w hmwt īw 60 n hny myt, 60 n bnr.

"Regnal year 7, third month of the Second Season, day 29. Participating (lit. 'one was') in the great festival of King Amenophis(I) L.P.H. the-lord-of-the-village. The crew kept jubilating in his presence for four entire days of drinking, as well as their children, and their wives likewise, there being 60 (participants) from within (the) path and 60 from without."

When the word myt is understood for what it is²³, and no attempt is made to read dmīt as Janssen has proposed²⁴ despite Černý's assertion of the

20 Ostr.BM 50734 + Ostr.Cairo CG 25673 + Ostr.Gardiner 99 (Černý/Gardiner, HO, pl. 67, 1).

21 See above, n.13. Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, 183-84.

22 Janssen, CPRP, 20 n.23; p.459.

23 See n.16, above.

24 Janssen, op.cit., 459 n.25. See also Gardiner, JEA 31, 1945, 25 n.4.

opposite²⁵, there is nothing left to support the theory that outsiders were involved in the celebration. What we really have is sixty workmen of the crew and sixty members of their families, all from the inside.

Another supposedly joint enterprise between members of the crew and outsiders was the transport of heavy loads mentioned in Pap.Turin 2044 vso.²⁶ A total of 450 men, out of which 120 were workmen of p3 hr, participated in that operation. Unfortunately the text does not specify whether all the groups worked together or were successively employed in the various stages of the dragging. The latter possibility might not lead to any deviations from the normal routine. We are not told of the purpose of that unusual activity; if it had something to do with a hasty fortification of p3 hr in face of the descending enemy, as one may theorize in view of the contents of the recto²⁷, routine precautions may have been sacrificed under the pressure of a more tangible danger.

A complex situation in this respect must have developed when it was decided to reduce the number of workmen to 60 following a considerable period during which 120 workmen are attested²⁸. The document mentioning that decision, Ostr.Berlin 12654²⁹, dated to a year 2, probably of Ramesses VI, supplies a very short notice of the incident³⁰ from which it transpires that the officials of p3 hr had been instructed to allow sixty workmen to remain, according to their (the officials') choice; the rest were to be taken r bnr, to be employed as carriers for the workmen. Now, as we have already pointed out, r bnr could have two different connotations in the community of p3 hr depending upon the identity of those who used it and the context. In this specific example, bringing workmen of the crew r bnr might mean either to disqualify them from working with the crew but still let them reside in the village, or expel them from p3 hr altogether. The second possibility is the only one that has been hitherto proposed.

25 Černý, BIFA0 27, 1927, 184 n.2.

26 Kitchen, RI VI, 340-43 (recto and verso have been transposed); see Černý, Community, 60.

27 Idem, CAH², 9-10.

28 For the sequence of these events see Černý, Community, 103-04.

29 Černý, op.cit., 104, quotes the pertinent passage and translates it; the reference to this ostrakon must have been omitted by mistake. Ostr.Berlin 12654 was published by Allam (HOUP Plates, pls.12-15).

30 Verso 1-3. The words verso and recto were inadvertently interchanged in the sentence that precedes Černý's quotation of the passage.

Accepting it would mean that not only the workmen themselves, but also their families would have to leave the village and thus become a serious security hazard.

On the other hand, some compromise may have been devised according to which these men would only change their status and instead of being crew members, they would become auxiliaries³¹ who could be entrusted with the transport of materials to the working sites (since they knew the place) making life easier for the rest of the workmen. Such a solution would still be a novelty in the Necropolis³², but a more palatable one than having workmen of the crew and their families wandering about loose in Western Thebes³³. Unfortunately, from that period on the documents of the

31 The hieratic in line 3 is quite faint. If a ligature for n3 could be accepted instead of that for t3 in Černý's questionable t3y.w smdt, we may have the construction n3yw smdt meaning "those of the auxiliary labor" (cf. n3yw p3 hr which is equivalent to n3 rmtw n p3 hr, Černý, Community, 16).

32 There may exist a precedent in Ostr. Cairo CG 25581 vso. which is probably datable to the reign of Merneptah (Černý, VK, 26). The verso starts with the following heading: Nty iw.tw (r) int.w m rmtw-1st hmww r t3 whyt n p3 hr. "Those who will be brought to the settlement of p3 hr as specialized crew-members"; this is followed by a specification of the newcomers not by name, but by specialization. Then, in line 4, the additional heading: rmtw-1st smdt s 10, "auxiliary crew-members, 10 people" is followed by what may be taken to be a specification of the latter or as yet a third group.

The purport of the verso should be understood as an account of a rather thorough reorganisation in the composition of the crew which necessitated the introduction of additional workmen. It shows that there was a distinction between crew members who were employed in specialized activities and others who did auxiliary work and could be termed smdt. This smdt should not be confused with the smdt n bnr who could not be brought to the settlement of p3 hr, and who, unlike the smdt "of the inside", were a permanent, essential feature in the administration of the Necropolis (cf. Eyre, JEA 66, 1980, 118, n.1).

33 One feels that the motive for diminishing the number of the active crew members is not so much the lack of work, since year 2 of any king is too early a date for the royal tomb to be anywhere near completion (even in the case of Ramesses VI who usurped a partly excavated tomb). It must be rather an urgent need that arose to carry materials from the outside into the restricted area of p3 hr in great quantities. Considering the fact that Ramesses V was buried less than three months after the date of our passage in the Berlin Ostrakon assuming that it belongs to the reign of Ramesses VI (cf. Ostr. Cairo CG 25254 = Dareddy, Ostraca CGC, 66), we may attribute the conscription of part of the necropolis workmen to form a carrying crew to the preparations for that burial. The smdt n bnr were obviously unfit for such a task since they were not allowed inside p3 hr and had their own jobs to perform. If I am right in this assumption, we are dealing with but a temporary conscription of those workmen which has nothing to do with their expulsion from p3 hr.

Necropolis became more scarce and less explicit for a couple of decades, so that we cannot follow the destinies of individual workmen in a manner that might have verified our assumption.

B. Measures for avoiding damage to the royal tombs and their contents by the workmen themselves.

1. Ascents to the Valley of the Kings and descents therefrom to Deir el-Medina were compulsory and were performed en groupe and under proper supervision.
2. Daily roll-calls were effected by the scribe in order to make sure that every workman was either present or accounted for. This, rather than the need to calculate the monthly amount of provisions for each workman according to his net working days, must have been the main reason for the roll-calls and the detailed notations of the excuses of absentees³⁴.
3. Occasionally we hear of workmen having remained in the village for private reasons³⁵; in no instance, however, do we hear of individual workmen being left over the decade-end in the Valley of the Kings, while the crew was in the village.
4. The normal sleeping quarters of the crew was at the station "of the col"³⁶, where they could be watched, and from which place a nocturnal venture to the Valley of the Kings could be detected more easily than from a site within that valley.
5. Whenever the presence of workmen in the Valley of the Kings was not needed or not desired, as is the case following a royal burial or after the tomb was already finished, or again when there was urgent work to be done elsewhere, so that proper supervision could not be guaranteed at the Valley of the Kings, the authorities would seal the region off from a given point so that nobody would be allowed further in. The documents have probably preserved five instances of the application of this measure³⁷; the verb used for "sealing off" in four out of these examples

34 Černý (CHM I, 1954, 917-18) thinks otherwise; Janssen who has dealt with absences from work (SAK 8, 1980, 127ff.) has not discussed the reasons for jotting them down.

35 See for example Ostr. BM 5634 (Černý/Gardiner, H0, pls. 83-84) and discussion by Janssen, *op. cit.*

36 See Bruyère, Fouilles DM 1934-1935, Part III, 345-46; Thomas, RNT, 58.

37 Ostr. Gardiner 221, 2-4 (see above, p. 164); Pap. Turin Cat. 1923 vso. 15 (see above, p. 149); Ostr. IFAO 1206 (unpublished, see Černý, VK, 21 with nn. 3-5); Pap. Salt 124 rto. 1, 15 (see Černý, JEA 15, 1929, pl. 42); Theban Graffito 1860a, 1-2 (see Černý/Sadek, Graffiti, 21). Possibly Pap. Salt and Ostr. IFAO deal with a different activity. The main documents were discussed in

was dbC. The fifth, Theban graffito 1860a³⁸, uses the verb hni.

6. As an additional precaution, the workmen of p3 hr, or at least some of them, were made to take an oath that they would not fail to inform the authorities in case they heard or saw any untoward activity directed against the royal monuments. Interestingly, both pieces of evidence we possess concerning this measure are denunciations by a workman named Pn-Cnkt against his fellow-workmen on two different occasions separated by an interval of several years³⁹.
7. Beside the regular captains of the crew (the hwttyw) and the deputies of the crew (the ḏdnww), the 3tw-officers, of whom p3 hr seems to have employed two individuals at any given period⁴⁰, were those who bore the responsibility for the good behavior of the workmen. In contrast to the others who had various additional duties to perform, the 3tw-officers, possibly trusted outsiders acting as representatives of the authorities on the spot, were probably instructed to interfere only in case problems of insubordination arose that might endanger vital interests⁴¹. They were not members of the crew and did not receive their rations from the provisions of p3 hr. Their status must have been lower than that of the captains of the crew, since the latter could order them around⁴². Significantly, the md3yw of p3 hr were not preoccupied by problems of that sort, their main function being to protect the region from trespassers or attackers from the outside⁴³.

detail (cf. pp. 163-64; 164 n.110). A cancellation of this measure is probably mentioned in Pap. DM 28, vso. 5-6 (cf. Černý, *Community*, 83 n.9). The expression is wn. (ḏ) n. tn p3 r-c b3kw, "(I) made accessible for you the work-in-progress".

- 38 This document has been discussed by Bierbrier in a separate article and a sequel (Bierbrier, *JEA* 58, 1972, 195ff; idem, *JEA* 61, 1975, 251). His dating of the graffito to a year 8 of Ramesses X would tend to put it out of the range of documents we are interested in (cf. n.1, above). I agree, however, with Bell's dating of the graffito to the reign of Ramesses VI (Bell, *Serapis* 6, 1980, 9), which is well within our period. Bierbrier (op. cit., 195) translates hrw pn hni p3 hr in NN, by "this day of the closing of the tomb by NN", adding that the phrase hni p3 hr need not necessarily imply that the tomb was completely finished.
- 39 Ostr. DM 148 rto. 10-11 (Černý, *Ostraca DM II*, pl. 10); Turin Strike Papyrus rto. 4, 1 (Gardiner, *RAD*, 57.6-7).
- 40 Cf. Černý, *JEA* 31, 1945, 43 n.6.
- 41 See however Ostr. Cairo CG 25553 rto. 6 (Černý, *Ostraca CGC*, 42*) where "turning loose" an 3tw against a workman seems to have been a dreaded punishment.
- 42 See for instance Gardiner, *RAD*, 55, 7.
- 43 For a good example see Černý, *CAH*², 10.

8. All private activities, including events of a social nature involving the workmen and their families, took place in Deir el-Medina, and certainly not in the Valley of the Kings. Under this heading should be included most festivals, the oracular appearances of Amenophis I, knbt hearings, financial transactions among themselves, reception of provisions, etc.

These lists provide an example of the manner in which the results of this study, combined with additional background information, can produce a coherent picture of life and activity in the Necropolis. They demonstrate that thought and pre-planning had been at work when procedures were established in the Community of Workmen, and that the theory of two main centers of activity is essentially correct. In addition, one can find in those lists the main points of difference between the two centers, and also how they complemented each other, forming an organic entity.

We may now conclude that p3 hr was the territorial and administrative combination of these two centers. It was composed of a "core" section for the sake of which it had come into being, and of a "peripheral" section which was gradually put up in order to enable the "core" section to operate as planned.

The toponyms of p3 hr should accordingly be categorized as "core toponyms" including terms such as: sht, sht ^{C3t}, hr, p3 hr ^{C3} špsy etc., t3 st ^{C3t}, t3 st ^{Pr-C3}, p3 r- ^C b3kw, t3 dhnt, etc., and "peripheral toponyms" including terms such as: p3 dmi ^{t44}, t3 whyt ^{t44}, t3 i ^{nt}, r (n) t3 i ^{nt}, t3 5 i ^{nt}, p3 htm n p3 hr, etc.

One of the basic differences between the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Medina which we mentioned earlier while describing these sites has not been discussed yet, namely the claim that, unlike the settlement of the workmen at Deir el-Medina, the "core" area was an august region. The term "august"

44 The terms p3 dmi ^{t44} and t3 whyt ^{t44} were not discussed in particular because there is nothing much to add to Černý's remarks about them. P3 dmi ^{t44} was the local term for the village of the workmen at Deir el-Medina (Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, 169; idem, Community, 92 n.1). As for t3 whyt ^{t44}, the evidence as Černý sees it (ibid., 92 and nn.1-5) is ambiguous. My inclination is to regard the term as a less intimate (i.e. more official) designation of Deir el-Medina "the settlement", more often than not augmented by the attribute (n)p3 hr (ibid., n.2,3). It should be stressed however, that this interpretation cannot be proved any more than Černý's, its advantage being that it is at least consistent (see also n.32, above).

does not always convey the right idea adequately, it is however, the best we can find in English for most cases.

Undoubtedly, the Royal Tomb and the valley in which the occupied tombs of many kings were situated, were sacred, awe-inspiring sites in the minds of the Egyptians of the Ramesside Period. The magico-religious potency of the Royal Tomb has not been stressed enough by those who have investigated the phenomenon of the Royal Tomb Robberies. The fact that the tombs were eventually robbed cannot alter that basic belief, inasmuch as we only know about robberies that were actually performed. We know nothing about would-be robbers who gave up because of the sacrilege inherent in such activity, since these have left no evidence, nor can we guess at the misgivings of those who had decided to do it, nevertheless. Naturally, no "august" status is to be expected from the "peripheral" sites of p3 hr.

Outsiders could not and did not differentiate between the components of the Necropolis and they therefore utilized the single term p3 hr for the whole, and adorned it with whichever epithets of reverence and deference circumstances imposed.

The inmates, on the other hand, were well aware of the fundamental difference existing between the "core" and the "peripheral" sections of p3 hr in that respect. Being too closely involved with the goings-on in the Valley of the Kings, they could not bring themselves to adopt an overly deferential attitude towards what was after all their job and working site, but they nevertheless felt the need to be cautious about their use of terminology for the "core" section.

As a consequence, they settled for neutral expressions such as p3 r-^C b3k or sh_t in the colloquial, while on more official occasions, such as during interrogations or in correspondence, they would use very cautious circumlocutions such as t3 st ^C3t, t3 st Pr-^C3 and the like, to be on the safe side. Since the workmen, through their local administration, were the tone-givers in matters of topographical terminology of the Necropolis (or so we think in view of the nature of the documents at hand), the abovementioned "core" toponyms came to be used by the authorities as well in their instructions to the workmen.

Under such conditions, I believe that a search after the official name of the Valley of the Kings in the documents of the Necropolis that we possess is doomed to failure a priori. I doubt whether such a name ever existed or

that any one of the "core" toponyms we are aware of was used in a sufficiently straightforward manner to provide the needed proof that it might refer uniquely to the Valley of the Kings.

In this respect, the Valley of the Queens was much more down-to-earth than its august counterpart, as can be gathered by the very choice of its location in a region which was considerably more vulnerable than that of the Valley of the Kings. The "rules of secrecy and seclusion", as formulated in List A, do not seem to be applicable to the Valley of the Queens. T3 st-nfrw is a term that deserves further investigation before it can be translated "the Place of Beauty"⁴⁵; it may however be accepted as a quasi-official term for that necropolis. This term has no obvious counterpart in the Valley of the Kings, unless one accepts the hapax t3 st nty ?mnt⁴⁶ as such. As for the other "core" toponyms, I believe that they differ from the "peripheral" ones by being less strictly definable and especially by their ability to accept the epithet C3(t) without having their topographical sense changed or restricted in any way. C3 in this context is merely an assertion that the sites in question were august, i.e., belonging to the "core" area.

Our purpose in this study has been to investigate the "peripheral" toponyms. The "core" toponyms have been treated repeatedly and at length⁴⁷; any comments we may have regarding their interpretations are only minor⁴⁸ and can have no significant impact on the overall understanding of the function of the Necropolis. Due to their particular nature and circumstance of use, the "core" toponyms will anyway remain rather nebulous for the modern investigator.

45 See Černý, *Community*, 88-89. The word nfrw has many different meanings not all of which are well understood. Somehow I do not believe that beauty should have been the distinguishing element or the common denominator of those who were buried in the Valley of the Queens, nor could the landscape of the Valley of the Queens be described as "beautiful" by the Ancient Egyptians.

46 Pap. Salt 124 rto. 1, 15. See Černý, *JEA* 15, 1929, 247(15); Thomas, *RNT*, 50.

47 For a comprehensive statement of the situation regarding the most important "core" toponyms, including bibliography, see Wente, *JNES* 32, 1973, 225-28.

48 For instance, I would suggest that no material distinction should be made between sht and sht C3t. Both versions should refer to "the working region" as an antithesis to "the dwelling region"; the "countryside" as against the "settlement".

APPENDIX A: CONCORDANCE WITH J. ČERNÝ, *A COMMUNITY OF WORKMEN AT THEBES IN THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD*

<i>"Community"</i>		<i>"Community"</i>	
<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>	<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
1	3(14)	12 n.7	5(25)
1-4	3(15); 6(31)	n.8	5(25)
1-28	3(15)	n.9	5(25)
4-5	4(22); 13(64)	13	3(18)
7	1(1); 5(28); 13(66)	13-14	3(17); 10(56)
8 n.1	1(9); 11(58)	13 n.1	3(18)
n.2	1(9); 11(58); 25(133)	15	12(59)
n.3	1(9); 11(58); 24(126);	15-16	5(29)
	30(160)	16	5(27); 5(30); 36(195);
n.4	30(160)		44(49); 181(31)
n.5	1(9); 11(58); 24(126)	16-17	13(67)
n.6	1(9); 11(58); 24(126)	16-18	2(13)
9 n.1	1(9); 11(58); 24(126)	17	4(19); 4(20); 65(7)
n.6	1(10); 24(126)	18	14(69); 15(83); 16(96);
n.7	1(10); 24(126)		26(142); 84(3); 85(14)
n.8	1(10); 24(126)	18-19	88(32)
n.9	2(12); 24(126)	19	34(182); 34(183); 34(184)
10	1(12); 10(57)	n.1	35(185)
10-11	2(12)	20	14(73); 20(116)
11	32(171); 161(90)	22-24	4(21); 28(154)
n.4	10(57)	22 n.1	13(66)
n.6	146(8); 152(46); 161(90)	n.2	13(66)
n.7	5(26)	n.3	13(66)
n.8	33(180)	26 n.5	54(116)
n.9	29(156); 32(172)	28	35(190)
12	4(23); 12(59); 174(7)	29-34	43(43)
12-13	1(11)	29-67	42(36)
12 n.1	5(26); 29(156); 30(161)	31-34	39(22)
n.2	5(26); 29(156); 30(163)	33	40(24); 43(44); 44(53)
n.3	5(24); 27(145)	34	42(38); 45(56)
n.4	31(166)	35	55(121)
n.5	5(26); 29(156); 31(166)	n.4	55(118)
n.6	5(25)	36	42(37); 46(59)

<i>"Community"</i>		<i>"Community"</i>	
<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>	<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
36 n.1	49(81)	53 n.8	55(117)
n.2	49(81)	54	58(134)
37 n.1	38(6)	54-56(a-i)	38(6)
n.2	38(6)	54 n.2	61(146)
n.3	38(6); 49(82)	55f	38(5)
n.4	38(6)	55 n.6	38(5)
n.5	38(6); 48(75)	56	42(39)
n.6	38(6); 49(80)	58 n.2	52(100)
n.7	38(6)	59 n.3	39(18)
n.10	38(6)	n.4	39(19); 47(60)
n.11	38(6); 48(73)	60	41(32); 180(26)
38 n.1	48(74)	n.1	39(17)
n.2	38(6); 49(79)	n.2	39(20); 58(133)
n.3	38(6); 48(76)	n.3	39(17); 57(131)
n.4	38(6)	n.4	39(17); 57(131)
n.5	38(6)	61	39(15); 56(123); 83(2/14)
n.6	38(6); 47(60); 49(77)	61-62	56(124)
40	41(40)	61 n.2	56(123)
n.1	47(60); 48(72)	62	42(40)
42	13(67)	62-65	38(4)
42-43	42(41)	62 n.1	39(19)
42 n.4	13(67)	n.2	39(21)
43	42(42); 44(52); 45(54)	63	58(134)
	62(148)	65	39(13)
44	38(7)	(1)-(3)	52(101)
44-47	38(8); 40(26); 60(139)	(1)-(4)	55(122)
45	60(144)	(1)-(5)	39(14)
45-47	60(142)	(3)	39(12)
45ff	60(143)	n.2	39(13)
45 n.12	60(140)	66	39(13)
47	42(39); 47(68); 62(153)	n.3	56(123)
47ff.	62(151)	67 n.2	47(60)
48-49	40(26)	n.3	39(17)
49 no.25A	62(152)	n.4	39(17); 55(119)
53 n.1	54(115)	71	126(42); 142(103)
n.7	39(9); 39(10); 55(117)	72-74	53(111)

<i>"Community"</i>		<i>"Community"</i>	
<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>	<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
73-74	54(112)	93 n.6	148(22)
74-78	51(93)	n.7	147(20)
76-78	41(28)	n.9	149(29); 163(101)
78-79	51(96)	94	82(119); 146(15); 151(40)
79-80	51(97)	94-97	80(104)
80-81	41(29); 51(94)	95	80(99); 80(101); 80(109)
81	28(153)		92(42)
81-84	28(151)	n.5	80(100)
81 n.6	28(152)	n.6	80(99)
n.7	28(153)	n.7	80(99)
n.8	28(153)	n.8	80(99)
82 n.7	31(168)	n.9	80(99)
83 n.9	183(37)	n.10	80(102)
87	14(77); 145(5)	n.11	80(102)
n.2	14(77)	n.12	80(102)
88-89	186(45)	n.14	80(102)
89 n.5	163(102)	96 n.7	80(103)
n.8	152(42)	n.8	80(103)
90	164(110)	n.9	81(117)
90-91	153(47)	97	82(112); 84(3); 90(40)
90 n.10	164(110)	n.1	80(103)
n.11	164(110)	n.2	80(103)
n.12	164(110)		
92	16(91); 145(2); 184(44)		
92-94	145(3)	99 n.1	1(5); 86(19)
92 n.1	154(55); 184(44)	n.2	86(19)
n.2	163(103); 184(44)	n.7	16(90); 86(18)
n.3	184(44)	n.8	67(29); 86(18)
n.4	184(44)	101	86(19)
n.5	115(55); 184(44)	103-104	180(28)
93	82(120); 146(13); 161(89)	103 n.7	15(84)
	166(113)	104	180(29); 180(30)
93-94	155(59)	117	35(191)
93 n.2	149(27)	117ff.	35(190)
n.3	148(24)	118	36(192)
n.5	149(28)	n.4	36(193)

"Community"

<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
118 n.7	36(193)
119	36(193)
n.1	36(193)
n.2	36(193); 37(200)
n.4	36(193); 37(198)
n.5	36(193)
n.6	36(193)
n.7	36(193)
n.8	36(193); 37(196)
n.9	36(193); 37(196)
n.10	36(193); 37(196)
120 n.5	36(193); 37(196)
121ff.	15(88)
123-126	44(50)
127	62(150)
128	62(150)
134	44(50)
144-145	44(50)
149ff.	115(49)
150	44(50)
153	44(50); 62(150)
154	62(150)
158	115(49)
161	113(41)
161-173	107(1)
161 n.1	110(23)
n.5	113(42)
162	8(47); 84(3); 86(15); 110(25); 110(26)
n.8	115(53)
n.9	115(53)
163	44(50)
n.1	115(53)
n.2	115(53)
165-167	110(22)
166	111(29)

"Community"

<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
166-167	111(28)
166 n.2	112(35)
167	111(29); 111(31)
n.4	108(14)
n.5	108(14)
168-169	115(49)
169-170	44(50)
170-171	9(49); 109(19)
170 n.4	117(59)
171	109(20); 110(21); 118(63)
171-172	108(6)
171 n.1	110(23)
n.2	108(15)
172	108(4); 116(56)
n.1	108(6)
n.2	108(6)
n.3	108(6)
n.4	108(6)
n.5	108(6)
173	161(85)
n.1	108(4)
n.2	108(6)
n.3	108(5)
n.4	108(5)
n.5	108(8)
n.6	108(13)
n.8	176(14)
n.9	176(14)
n.10	176(14)
n.11	108(7)
n.12	108(9)
n.15	108(10)
n.17	108(11)
175ff.	115(54)
183	64(3)
183ff.	15(86); 64(2); 112(37)

<i>"Community"</i>		<i>"Community"</i>	
<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>	<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
183 n.2	64(3)	236	73(70); 76(73)
n.3	64(3)	236-237	73(73)
184 n.9	64(3)	237	76(86)
n.10	64(2)	n.5	73(71)
186 n.3	112(40)	n.6	73(71)
187	112(40)	n.7	73(71)
189	116(56)	238 n.8	14(69); 16(96)
191	70(50); 71(52); 71(57);	239 n.6	73(71)
	76(88)	255	64(5); 68(37)
191ff.	15(89)	255ff.	98(68)
191-192	71(56)	255-256	64(5); 69(46)
191-230	71(51)	255 n.6	64(5)
192-193	70(50)	n.7	64(4)
192-222	70(50)	256-257	73(73)
192 n.9	71(56)	256 n.6	69(43)
n.10	71(56)	n.8	70(48)
193	71(50)	257 n.2	69(41)
n.5	9(50)	n.3	65(5); 69(42)
197	75(77); 75(78)	258 n.7	69(40)
198-199	59(135)	n.8	69(40)
198 n.1	75(77)	n.9	69(40)
214 no.46	165(111)	n.10	69(40)
216ff.	68(34)	259	64(5); 69(46)
226 n.7	40(25)	261-284	17(101)
230A	44(50)	261 n.2	1(4)
231	86(20)	263	78(95)
231ff.	15(87); 68(36)	n.1	161(87)
231-243	68(38); 73(63)	269	44(50)
232-233	76(84)	270-277	40(50)
232 n.13	66(22)	277	174(9)
234	69(39)	278	174(11)
n.2	66(22)	n.6	174(11)
n.6	75(78)	279	109(18)
n.8	105(100)	280 n.5	78(94)
235	75(82)	284	174(9)
n.2	75(78)	298-300	47(68)

"Community"

<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
300	62(150)
302	118(63)
303	118(63)
305	62(150)
307 n.5	62(150)
308-309	66(22)
308 n.2	66(22)

"Community"

<u>p., n.</u>	<u>p.(n.)</u>
309	20(116)
329ff.	24(128)
339ff.	76(89)
352	71(56)
381	71(51)
382	71(51)
383	71(51)

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INDEXES

1 GENERAL

(Abbreviations utilized in this index: "CW" - Community of Workmen; "DM" - Deir el-Medina; "HTM" - p3 htm n p3 hr, the administrative outpost of the community of workmen; "Path" - Path leading from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings; "PT" - Place of Truth (st-m3ct); "TK" - Tomb of the reigning king, in process of construction; "VK" - Valley of the Kings; "VQ" - Valley of the Queens)

abandonment of Deir el-Medina, see "DM"

accessibility: -of Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -of the htm, see "HTM"; -of the path to VK, see "Path"; -of the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -of the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

accusations against workmen, see "CW"

activity: -in the htm, see "HTM"; -in the Place of Truth, see "PT"; -at the royal tomb, see "TK"; -in the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -in the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

administration, central: 64; 69; 98-99; 104

 overseer of treasury, 88; 106; 148; 166

 royal butler, 20; 32-34; 103; 172-73

 senior craftsman (overseer of craftsmen), 104; 148-49; 166-67; 172

 scribe: -of treasury, 98; 106; -of vizier, 98

 vizier, 20; 24; 27; 30; 52; 87; 89; 98-103; 108; 122; 135; 137; 147-149; 153; 159-60; 166-67; 172-73; 178

administration, local, see "CW"

administration of p3 hr:

 conscript labor, see "outsiders"

 local, see "CW"

 regional, see "HTM"

administration, regional, see "HTM"

administration of temples:

 high priest of Amon, 87; 103-04

 priests of royal mortuary temples, 91; 179

 scribe of temple, 165

 treasury of Amon, 64

Ahmoose Nefertari (deified), 47-48; 63; 158

ALLAM Shafik, 140

Amenmesse, 153

Amenophis I: -deified, 23; 62-63; 124; 147; 153; 156-59; 179; 184

- Amenophis I: -king, 16; 157
- Amon, 55; 165
- Amon-Re, 47; 49
- Aniba, 48
- archives of the community of workmen, see "CW"
- ascent, 25; 80; 90; 92; 147; 159; 182
- auxiliaries of p3 hr, see "outsiders, conscript labor"
- BAER Klaus, 8; 14; 140
- BELL Lanny, 183
- Biban el-Harim, see "VQ"
- Biban el-Moluk, see "VK"
- BIERBRIER Morris, ii; 183
- Biggah, 94
- blindfolding, 173
- BONNET Charles, 135
- border installations, 94-95; 125; see also, "DM"
- BRUYERE Bernard, 157-58
- builder, see "outsiders, conscript labor"
- butler, royal, see "administration, central"
- cache of royal mummies, 19
- CAMINOS Ricardo, 94
- captains of the crew, see "CW, administration"
- celebrations: -of the community of workmen, see "CW"; -at the htm, see "HTM"; -near the king's tomb, see "VK"
- "Černabrü", 159
- ČERNÝ Jaroslav, i-iii; 1-4; 6; 8-9; 12-13; 15; 20; 23; 25-26; 28-29; 31-36; 38; 41-17; 55-56; 58; 60-62; 64; 66-71; 73; 75-76; 78; 82; 85-87; 90; 92; 103; 107-13; 115-16; 118-19; 126; 130-31; 136; 142; 145-46; 148-49; 152; 155-56; 161-66; 169-70; 174; 179-82; 184
- checkpost at Deir el-Medina, see "DM, border installations, place of the doorkeepers"
- chiefs of Police, see "HTM"
- "child of Tomb", 35
- children in the community of workmen, see "CW"
- CHRISTOPHE Louis, 156
- communication between Deir el-Medina and the outside, see "HTM"

- community of workmen: 2; 13; 170; 184
 - accusations against workmen, 14; 116; 118; 179; 183
 - administration, local: 16; 64; 70
 - auxiliaries of the inside, 180-81
 - captains of the crew, 15; 64; 68-70; 73-74; 76-77; 79-80; 93; 99; 101-02; 104-05; 114; 118; 121-22; 124; 139; 147-48; 159-60; 166-67; 173-75; 178; 183
 - carriers of palanquin, see "PT, office holders"
 - chief draughtsman, 71; 73-76
 - chief workmen, see "CW, administration, foremen"
 - coppersmiths, see "outsiders"
 - craftsmen, 181; see also, "outsiders"
 - deputies, 44; 73; 114; 121; 124; 174; 179; 183
 - doorkeepers, see "outsiders"
 - draughtsmen, 67; 70-72; 74-75
 - foremen, 15; 20; 44; 72-75; 77; 79; 81; 89; 99; 102; 105; 118; 121-23; 135; 158
 - guardians, 44; 115; 123-24; 141; 178
 - household help, 115
 - officers 3tw, 17; 73; 114; 121; 146; 155; 174; 183
 - scribes, 70-71; 74; 77; 79; 105
 - scribes of p3 hr (of the inside), ii; 16; 24; 34; 44; 61; 65-68; 70-79; 96; 99; 102; 112; 116; 121-24; 136; 138; 146; 153; 155
 - servants (of the lord of the Two Lands) in the Place of Truth, see "PT, office holders"
 - administration, regional, see "HTM"
 - allegiance, 16; 63; 124
 - archives, old writings, 16; 40
 - celebrations, 147; 153-58; 178-80; 184
 - children, 35-36; 92; 177; 179
 - complaints of workmen, 81; 91; 93; 101-02; 105; 121-23; 129; 133-34; 137; 139-40
 - connection with outsiders, 20; 33; 41; 54-55; 57; 69; 75; 87; 97-101; 103-04; 108; 117-18; 136; 147; 152; 161; 166; 176; 178-180
 - conscript labor, see "CW, administration, auxiliaries"; "outsiders"

community of workmen (cont.)

- crew of workmen, 15-16; 27; 40-41; 46; 54; 57; 62; 72; 74; 76; 79; 81; 118; 147; 179
- cult, 62-63; 155; 157-58
- date limits, 16-17; 54
- departure of members, 37; 123-25; 135; 141; 143; 178; 180-81
- disputes, 117; 131; 134; 174; 178
- duties of various members, ii; 16; 19; 21-23; 18; 34; 36; 40; 63; 68-69; 75; 102; 122-23; 131; 138; 141; 170; 176; 181-82
- food demands, 20; 123; 133
- isolation, ii; 17-18; 54; 59; 95; 103-04; 116; 135; 146; 155; 160; 175-79
- knbt sessions, 1; 15; 20; 65; 67; 69; 80-81; 85; 105; 108; 176; 184
- natives of hr, 35-37
- outings of members, 34; 80-81; 97-98; 101-05; 108; 114-15; 117; 140; 142; 146; 156; 166; 177-78
- particularities, 13; 16-17; 63; 169-70
- people of, 36-37; 67-68; 104
- personnel, 13; 15; 17; 36; 44
- provisions, dues, rewards, wages, 9; 16; 26; 74; 91; 99-103; 108-09; 116; 123; 137; 147-49; 157; 167
- realm, territory of, 11; 17-18; 21-22; 35; 49; 51; 106; 130; 134; 139; 143-44
- recruitment of members, 89; 181
- roll calls, see "VK, activities"
- settlement of p3 hr, see "DM"; "DM, name"
- strikes, 73; 80-81; 89-93; 97; 102; 108; 110; 114; 121-23; 129-34; 137-42; 174; 177; 179
- tomb robbing, see "tomb-robberies"
- wages, see "CW, provisions"
- women, 15; 87; 92; 105; 108; 114-15; 123-24; 141; 177; 179
- work outside VK, 130-31; see also, "HTM"; "Path"; "VQ"

complaints of workmen. see "CW"

connection between workmen and outsiders, see "CW"

conscript labor, see "outsiders"

coppersmiths, see "outsiders"

craftsman, senior (overseer of craftsmen), see "administration, central"

- craftsmen, see "CW, administration"
- craftsmen from the outside, see "PT, office holders"; "outsiders"
- crew of workmen, see "CW"
- crews of workmen from outside, see "outsiders"
- DARESSY Georges, 26; 31; 146
- DAVIES Norman de Garis, 18
- decade-end, 88-89; 92; 126; 130-31; 153; 155; 159-60; 182
- Deir el-Bahari, 19; 21; 47; 132; 143; 151; 154
- Deir el-Medina, settlement of the community of workmen: 8-9; 13-14; 17-19;
22; 38; 40; 61; 79; 92; 110; 114; 122; 128; 130; 143;
152; 154; 169-70; 175; 184
- abandonment of, 92; 116; 165
- accessibility, 17; 20; 54; 59; 95-96; 104-05; 116; 160; 170; 174-78
- border installations: 22; 52; 135; 138; 159; 176-77
- checkpost, watchpost, see "DM, border installations, place of
the doorkeepers"
- closure of the village (htm n dmi't), 86-87; 93; 95-96; 116
- complex of 5 guardhouses/watchposts (t3 5 ĩnbt), 16; 120-144;
169; 178-79
- gate? (nsp), 95; 109; 122; 134; 137; 176
- "mouth of the wadi" (r n t3 ĩnt), 96; 115; 119; 146-47; 149;
154; 161; 166-68; 172
- place of the doorkeepers (st ĩryw-c3), 118-19; 161; 167; 172;
176-77
- chapels, 40; 51-52; 132; 135; 158-59
- enclosure wall, 31; 128; 136; 175
- excavations at, 40; 128; 135
- guardhouses, complex of 5, see "DM, border installations"
- highest point, 119; 155; 159
- houses, 40; 68; 92; 96; 114; 116; 135; 143
- name of, 15-17; 67; 134; 149; 163; 179; 184
- necropolis of, 15-16; 53; 59-61; 158; 178
- ostraca, 152; 162
- paths from, 18; 96-97; 119; 130; 134-38; 154; 156; 164; 178; see
also "Path"
- place of the doorkeepers, see "DM, border installations"
- plan of the village, 136; 143; 158-60

Deir el-Medina (cont.)

- reception of provisions, 100; 102; 114; 117; 122; 137; 148; 160-61; 176-77; 184
- stages of habitation, 16-17; 53-54; 128; 135-36; 175
- storeroom at, 147; 159
- strikes from, 61; 97; 114; 131; 134; 137
- tombs, 13-14; 47-49; 59; 61; 68; 116; 158
- visits to, 20; 69; 97; 104-05; 148; 159-60; 166-67; 179
- wadi of, 52; 82; 96-97; 137; 139-40; 152; 154-56; 158-60; 162; 167-168; 178
- watchpost, see "DM, border installations, place of the doorkeepers"
- workman on duty at, 96; 116; 161; 176
- departure of workmen, see "CW"
- deputies (of the crew of workmen), see "CW, administration"
- descent, 80; 89; 92-93; 102; 114; 122; 182
- disputes among workmen, see "CW"
- documents: -non official/colloquial language, i-ii; 10-11; 18; 25-28; 42; 57-58; 60-61; 98; 128; 153; 185; -official/official language, i; 10; 24-29; 42; 54-55; 57-58; 60-61; 128; 185
- doorkeepers (of p3 hr): see "outsiders"; -duties of, 107-18; 160-61; 172; 176-77; -of the htm, see "HTM"; -place of, see "DM, border installations"; -"of the Royal Tomb", see "TK"
- DraC Abu n-Naga (var. Dira Abu el-Naga), 6; 22
- draughtsman: -of p3 hr, see "CW, administration"; -chief draughtsman, see "CW, administration"
- duties of members of the community of workmen, see "CW"
- EDGERTON William, 122; 126-29; 131-32; 134
- Elephantine, 95
- El-Kab, 151
- enemies, 92; 180
- entrance (mouth) of the Valley, see "DM, border installations"
- epagomenal days, 153
- excavations at Deir el-Medina, see "DM"
- EYRE Christopher, 73-74; 78; 135
- feast of the Valley, 151; 153
- "field" (sht), 164; 167

- fish, suppliers of, see "outsiders, conscript labor"
- food demands, see "CW"
- food supply to workmen, see "CW, provisions"
- foremen (of p3 hr), see "CW, administration"
- fortification: -of the king's tomb, see "TK"; - of the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; of the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"
- forts/fortifications of the necropolis, 8; 22; 83-85; 94-95; 120; 124; 127-128; 141-43; 180
- FRANSEN Paul, 140
- Gabbanat el-Giroud, 151
- GARDINER Allan, 45-46; 94; 112; 120-21; 126; 128; 147
- gatekeepers, see "doorkeepers"
- generalissimo, 2
- GOEDICKE Hans, 67; 126; 130-31
- graffiti: 18-19; 21; 68; 151-52; -at the path to the Valley of the Kings, see "Path"; -at the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -at the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"
- granary of p3 hr, see "HTM"
- 5 guardhouses, see "DM, border installations, complex"; "VK"
- guardian, see "CW, administration"
- Gurnet Murai, 159
- gypsum makers, see "outsiders, conscript labor"
- Hammamat, see "Wadi Hammamat"
- Harakhty, 49
- Hathor, 47-49; 158
- HELCK Wolfgang, 26; 31; 91; 96; 109; 123; 135; 153; 161; 165
- Herihor, 165
- high priest of Amon, see "administration of temples"
- Horemheb, 1; 16; 124; 130; 175
- household help at the CW, see "CW, administration"
- htm (of p3 hr): 83; 122; 169
 - accessibility of, 113
 - activity in, 69; 84-85; 89; 91; 93; 99-102; 105-06; 113; 149; 167
 - administration of p3 hr (regional) at, 69-70; 78; 98-99; 103-05; 110; 113-14; 117; 131; 161; 166; 178
 - celebrations at, 87; 105-06
 - chiefs of Police, 5-6; 20; 44; 78; 90-92; 98; 101; 104; 110-11; 114; 124; 148; 161; 174; 178

htm (of p3 hr) (cont.)

- communications with the village of Deir el-Medina, 69; 80; 98; 102-05; 114; 117; 148; 151; 166; 176-78
- date limits, 93; 116
- doorkeepers of, 85; 87; 106; 110-16; 178
- functions of, 8; 85; 87; 91; 97-100; 102-06; 113-14; 148; 178
- granary (of p3 hr) at, 16; 75; 85; 87; 99; 105-06
- inspectors of p3 hr of the outside at, 65; 68-70; 77-78; 80-81; 98; 100; 104-05; 166; 176; 179
- journal of, 106; 116
- location, 8-9; 69; 80; 84-94; 96-98; 106; 110; 127; 137; 169; 178
- scribes (of p3 hr of the outside), 61; 68; 77-79; 87; 98; 101-02; 104; 110-11; 114; 131; 148; 178
- visits: -of officials, 87; 98-104; 106; 148-49; 166-67; 178; -of workmen and families, 98; 102; 104-05; 123; 178
- women, 87-88; 105
- work done by the crews of p3 hr at, 31; 75; 105-06
- inspection: -at the Theban necropolis, see "necropolis, Theban"; -at the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -at the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"
- inspectors of p3 hr: -of the inside (captains), see "CW, administration, captains"; -of the outside, see "HTM"; -others, see "administration, central, passim"
- installations at the borders: -of Egypt, see "border installations"; -of p3 hr, see "DM, border installations"
- Isis: -queen, 30; -wife of Ramesses III, 1
- isolation of the community of workmen, see "CW"
- JANSSEN Jac, 72-73; 88; 91; 106; 109; 147; 174; 179; 182;
- Joppa, 95
- journal: -of the htm, see "HTM"; -of the necropolis, 27-28; 41; 58; 92; 126; 153; 160; 178
- Khnum, 95
- Khokha, 59; 61
- KITCHEN Kenneth, 164;
- knbt sessions in the community of workmen, see "CW"
- location: -of the "closure of the village" (p3 htm n dmît), see "DM, border installations"; -of the complex of 5 guardhouses (t3

location (cont.)

- 5 ʔnbt), see "DM, border installations, complex";
 -of the htm of p3 hr, see "HTM"; -of the "mouth of the wadi" (r n t3 ʔnt), see "DM, border installations";
 -of the path from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, see "Path"; -of the "Place of Truth" (st m3Ct), see "PT"; -of the territory of p3 hr, see "CW, realm";
 -of the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -of the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"; -of the wadi of Deir el-Medina (t3 ʔnt), see "DM"; -of the "waterfront" (mryt), see "waterfront"
- Maat, 47-48
- maintenance work on path to the Valley of the Kings, see "Path"
- MARCINIAK Marek, 151
- "marketplace", 82; 146; 155
- MASPERO Gaston, 45
- MASSART Adhemar, 77; 88
- mayor: -of Eastern Thebes, 20-21; 27; 91; -of Western Thebes, 6; 20; 27; 93; 124
- Medinet Habu, 35; 69; 90; 93; 96-97; 132; 134-37; 155-56
- Megiddo, 95
- Mentuhotep, 149; 151
- Meretseger (Mrt-sgr), 47; 52
- Merneptah, 24-25; 93-94; 96; 123; 130; 165; 181
- Mut, 36
- native of (p3) hr, see "CW"
- necropolis: -of Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -fortification of, see "forts/fortifications"; -inspection of, 124; 142; -royal Theban, 2; 4-7; 9-10; 85; 127; 142; 160; -Theban, 4; 8-9; 11; 13-15; 17; 45-46; 48-51; 57-53; 65; 127; 145
- NIMS Francis, 172
- oath, 36-37; 109; 117-18; 121; 139-40; 183
- officers 3tw, see "CW, administration"
- old writings of p3 hr, see "CW, archives"
- Osiris, 48
- ostraca: -from Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -from the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"; -from the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

OTTO Eberhard, 8

outside, 58; 61; 68-69; 81; 89; 98; 105; 115-17; 132; 161; 167; 178

outsiders (not belonging to p3 hr but related to it): 17; 41; 55; 57; 59;
67; 180

auxiliaries of p3 hr, see "outsiders, conscript labor"; "CW, admin."
connections with members of p3 hr, see "CW, connection with outsiders"
conscript labor of p3 hr: 15; 97; 108-09; 111-13; 116; 160; 172; 176;
179; 181

builders, 112

gypsum makers, 112; 131

suppliers: -of fish, 9; 112; -of vegetables, 112; -of water,
105; 112; 118; 160; -of wood, 108; 112

washermen, 112

coppersmiths, 89; 173; see also, "CW, administration"

craftsmen, 32-34; 173-74

crews of workmen from the outside, 41; 57

doorkeepers: -of the htm, see "HTM"; -of p3 hr, 9; 37; 44; 80; 96;
107-19; 160; 169; 172; 176-78

household help, see "CW, administration"

inspectors of the central administration, see "administration, central"

officers 3tw, see "CW, administration"

police/policemen, 44; 105; 109; 124; 148; 174; 176; 183

p3 hr (name of administrative unit of CW), see "CW"

palanquin carriers, see "PT, office holders"

path from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings: 18; 96; 157-58

accessibility of, 172; 175-77

graffiti in, 18-19

location, 136; 172

maintenance work, 165

name, 165; 177; 179

processions, 156-58

sealing up, 149; 164-65; 182-83

paths: -around Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -to the Valley of the Kings, see
"VK"; -to the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

"peak" of Western Thebes, 47-48

PEET Thomas, 6-9; 12; 17; 23; 41; 64; 89-90; 128-29; 133; 145; 155

Pharaoh, 1; 23; 62-63

Philae, 95

Pithom, 94

"Place of Beauty", 163; 186; see also "VQ"

place of the doorkeepers, see "DM, border installations"

Place of Truth:

activity in, 42; 48-50; 52; 55-57

commissions for/of, 39; 52; 55-56

institutions in:

chapels, 52; 158

penitentiary for cutting stones, 42; 56-57

sculptor's workshop, 42; 52; 148; 166-67

location and limits of, 43; 48; 50-51; 56-57; 97

meaning of term, 38; 42; 45-51; 54; 56-58

office holders in/of:

carriers of palanquin, 157

craftsmen, 39; 42; 58

overseer of works, 52

scribe/royal scribe, 39; 51-52; 61; 71; 166

servant; 40; 42; 46; 62-63; -of the god's wife, 47-48; -of
the lord of the Two Lands, 40; 48; 62

workman, 49-51; 53-55; 57; 59

outside Thebes, 38; 48

synonymous expressions, 41; 48-49; 51-52; 54

police/policemen, see "outsiders"

police, chief of, see "HTM, chiefs of Police"

priests, see "administration of temples"

processions, see "Path"; "VK"

provisions of food and materials, see "CW"; -reception of at DM, see "DM"

Ptah, 18; 52; 56; 153; 155-56; 158

Ramesses: -I, 162; -II, 2; 24; 55; 90; 93; 95-96; 99-100; 130-31; -III,
1-2; 35; 69; 73; 75; 77; 79; 93; 96; 101; 104; 110-12;
129-33; 135-36; 164-65; -IV, 25; 55; 77; 97; -V, 76-
77; 79; 163-64; 181; -VI, 30; 66; 75; 77; 97; 103;
105; 163; 180-81; 183; -IX, 20; 27; 66; 77-78; 135;
171; -X, 28; 135; 183; -XI, 4; 135

Ramesseum, 39; 56; 69; 81; 90-91; 93-94; 96; 103; 106; 108; 114; 121; 132-
134; 137; 154; 156

realm of the community of workmen, see "CW"

- regional administration of p3 hr, see "HTM"
- rewards to workmen of p3 hr, see "CW, provisions"
- "riverbank", see "waterfront"
- roll calls, see "VK, activities"
- SADEK Abdel Aziz, 157
- sanctity of the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"
- sanctuary of Ptah, 18; 52; 56; 149; 158
- SAUNERON Serge, i; 33; 135
- SCHIAPARELLI Ernesto, 131
- scribes: 4-5; -of the community of workmen, see "CW, administration";
 -for their duties, see "CW, duties", -of inside, see
 "CW, administration"; -of King's tomb, see "TK";
 -of "mat", 91; -of outside, see "HTM"; -of p3 hr,
 15-16; 24; 61; see also other entries under "scribes";
 -of/in the "Place of Truth", see "PT, office holders";
 -of sculptors' workshop, see "PT, institutions in";
 -of shrines, 52; -of temples, see "administration of
 temples; -of treasury, see "administration, central";
 -of vizier, see "administration, central"
- sculptors' workshop, see "PT, institutions in"
- sealing up: -the path to the Valley of the Kings, see "Path"; -the Valley
 of the Kings, see "VK"
- secrecy regarding location of the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"
- Seti: -I, 90; 92; 125; 130; 132; 158; -II, 152
- settlement of workmen on the "col", 18; 52; 157-58; 165; 177; 182; see also
 "Path"
- settlement at Deir el-Medina, see "DM"
- Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, 56
- Siamun, 165
- Sobekemsaf (Sbk-m-s3.f), 22
- SPIEGELBERG Wilhelm, 146; 154; 159
- storeroom: -at Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -at the Valley of the Kings,
 see "VK"
- strikes of workmen of p3 hr, see "CW"; "DM"
- superiors, see "inspectors"
- Tawaseret, 96
- territory of p3 hr, see "CW, realm"

"thief of p3 hr", 34

THOMAS Elizabeth, 2; 6-8; 20; 23; 65-67; 85; 127-28; 131; 134; 143; 145;
150-52; 154; 156-57; 164; 169

Thoth, 49

Tihna, 151

Tjeku, 94

tomb of king in process of preparation: 4; 8; 27-28; 30; 114; 126; 169
activities, 15; 27

"doorkeepers" of, 9; 107; 109-10

entrance/closing of, 8; 66; 86-88; 92; 103; 126

fortification/defences of, 126; 142

name, 4; 7; 11; 15; 25-29; 31-32; 42; 45; 47; 56; 65; 126; 142

outsiders at, 173

plan of, 5; 30; 75; 119

"scribe of", 65

stages of work at, 28; 30-31; 75-76; 126; 130-31; 147; 153; 156; 163;
172; 174; 183

tomb-robberies at, 34; 185

working on decade-end at, 160

tomb-robberies: 6; 20-21; 17; 30; 34; 36 -in tombs of workmen, 14; 140;
164; 171; 175; -at the king's tomb, see "TK"; -in
the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

tomb, royal (hr/pyramid tomb), 2-3; 5; 10-11; 15; 20-21

tombs in the Valley of the Kings, see "VK"

tombs in the Valley of the Queens, see "VQ"

tombs of workmen, see "DM"

tools, 35; 88-89; 92; 108

tools of p3 hr, 9; 16; 35

transportation of material to working site, 161; 167; 172; 176-78; 181

treasury: -of Amon, see "administration of temples"; -royal, overseer of,
see "administration, central"

Tutankhamon (Twt-Cnh-Imn), 119; 175

Tuthmosis: -I, 16; 157; 172; -II, 132; -III, 47; 73; 90; 121; 130; 132-
133; 151; -IV, 47-48

VALBELLE Dominique, 40; 135

Valley of the Kings (Biban el-Moluk): 8; 14; 19; 89-92; 103; 109; 128; 131;
133-34; 137; 155; 169; 182; 184

Valley of the Kings (cont.)

- accessibility: 170; 176; -to families of workmen, 87-88; 115; 141; 172; 175; 177; -to officials, 20; 88; 103; 160; 167; 172; 175; -to outsiders, 89; 107; 114-15; 160-61; 172-74; 181; -to workmen of p3 hr, 19; 164-65; 172; 182
- activities in, 28; 82; 88; 103; 167; 182
- celebrations, 156-57
- fortification of, 9; 22; 85; 88; 124; 126-27; 142-43
- graffiti, 19
- guard of, 9; 88; 171; 174; 182
- "guardhouses", 126-28; 134
- inspection of, 124; 142
- location, 171-72
- name, 7-8; 11; 17; 21; 65; 82; 127; 145; 150; 152-53; 155; 157; 159; 165; 168; 185-86
- ostraca from, 145; 152
- path leading to from the gebel, 18; 131; 143; -from the plain, see "Wadiyen"
- processions in, 156-58
- reopening after sealing up, 183
- sanctity of, 170; 185
- sealing up, 66; 149; 163-65; 182-83
- secrecy of its location, 54; 65; 87; 157; 160-61; 170-75; 177; 179; 181
- storeroom in, 88-89
- tombs, 2; 6; 131; 157; 163; 174

Valley of Mentuhotep, 149-151; 154

Valley of the Queens (Biban el-Harim): 19; 63; 65; 162; 186

- accessibility: -to outsiders, 20; 107; 170; 173; -to workmen, 19
- fortification, 127; 143
- graffiti, 18-19
- inspection of, 20
- location, 65; 186
- name, 6; 21; 127; 146; 162; 168; 186
- ostraca from, 19; 131; 162
- path leading to, 18; 52; 56; 136; 158; 164
- periods of activity in, 19; 131; 162-63; 165

Valley of the Queens (cont.)

tomb-robberies in, 20-21; 34; 173; 185

tombs at, 2; 6; 21; 30; 131; 162; 173

VAN SICLEN Charles, 75

vegetables, supplier of, see "outsiders, conscript labor"

VERNUS Pascal, 162

visits: -to Deir el-Medina, see "DM"; -to the htm, see "HTM"

vizier, see "administration, central"

wadi of Deir el-Medina, see "DM"

Wadi Hammamat, 39; 52; 55-56; 94; 97

Wadi en-Nisr, 151

Wadi Tumilat, 94

Wadiyen, 19; 21; 126-27; 131; 133; 143-44; 146; 155; 159; 161-62

wages of workmen, see "CW, provisions"

WAHBAH Gamal, 95

washerman, see "outsiders, conscript labor"

watchpost at Deir el-Medina, see "DM, border installations, complex";

"DM, border installations, place of doorkeepers"

water, suppliers of, see "outsiders, conscript labor"

"waterfront"/"riverbank" (mryt), 69; 79-81; 87; 89-90; 93; 96; 98; 108;
122; 137; 146; 155

WENTE Edward, 8; 33; 67; 75-76; 131; 142; 156

Western Valley, 18; 165

women: -in the community of workmen, see "CW"; -at the htm, see "HTM"

wood, suppliers of, see "outsiders, conscript labor"

ZONHOVEN L.M.J., x

2 EGYPTIAN TERMS

- 3ḥty-nḥḥ, 41; 51-52
 3tw, 17; 73; 114; 121; 146;
 155; 174; 183
 ỉmy-r pr-ḥd, 60; 148
 ỉmy-r mš^c wr, 2
 ỉmy-r ḥmww, 148-49
 ỉmy-r ḥtm, 94
 ỉmy-r k3t m/n st c3t, 52-53
 ỉmntt W3st/Níwt, 4; 14; 41; 48;
 52; 124; 165
 ỉmntt P3 ḥr, 14-16
 t3 ỉnt, 7; 82; 96; 148-168;
 169; 178; 184
 ỉnt c3t, 152; 162
 ỉnt p3 cš, 150
 ỉnt Nb-ḥpt-RC, 149-50
 ỉnb, 120; 123-25; 129; 143
 ỉnbt, 31; 84-85; 90; 93; 120;
 123-27; 129; 141-42
 (t3) 5 ỉnb(w)t, 16; 22; 73; 80;
 85; 87; 89; 90; 97; 120-
 144; 169; 178; 184
 ỉry-c3 (n p3 ḥr), 9; 17; 37; 107-
 119; 160-61; 169; 171
 ỉry-c3 n p3 ḥtm n p3 ḥr, 110; 114
 ỉḥt, 147
 (t3) ỉst (n p3 ḥr), 1; 15; 27-28;
 64; 79; 86; 101-03; 105;
 121-23; 147; 177; 179
 ỉsy, 14; 139
 ỉt3w n p3 pr n st3, 35
 ỉt3w n p3 ḥr, 34-35
 ỉt3 r mryt, 81-82
 ỉdnw (n t3 ỉst), 73; 121; 124;
 174; 183
 ct ỉryw-c3, 119
 c3, 24; 186
 c3 n ỉst (n p3 ḥr), 15; 73; 79; 102
 105; 121-22
 c3 n c m pr-dt, 52
 cnḥ n níwt (n p3 ḥr), 15
 Crky, 126
 w3t bnr, 121; 132
 W3t-Ḥr, 94
 W3w3t, 94
 wb3(w) nswt, 32
 wpwt n st-m3ct, 39; 52
 wmt n p3 ḥr, 31
 wn (v.), 32-33; 112-13; 183
 wn(w) (n.), 113
 wrw, 69; 78; 80-81; 103
 wrw c3yw, 69; 78
 wr m33w, 2
 (t3) whyt (n p3 ḥr), 1; 16; 163; 181;
 184
 whcw n p3 ḥr, 9
 wd3, 81; 88-89; 125; 143; 147; 157
 wd3 n Pr-c3, 88
 p3 b3k(w), 28
 b3k n ḥmt-ntr m st-m3ct, 47-48
 bnr, 17; 22; 64-69; 77-80; 98; 117;
 127-28; 176-80
 Pr-c3, 3-4; 10; 23; 25; 28; 121; 139;
 148
 Pr (p3) w3d-wr, 94
 pr-ḥd n Pr-c3, 99-100
 pr-dt, 41; 51-52
 myt, 177; 179
 mnw, 149; 162

- mryt, 64; 69; 79-82; 87; 89-90;
 92-93; 96-98; 102-03; 108;
 114; 122-23; 137-38; 146;
 155-56; 165
 ms-hr, 35-37
 ms sšmw n ntrw nbw, 52
 md3yw, 17; 109; 124; 148; 174; 183
 Nīwt, 150
 nwy h^cw, 90; 92
 nb-t3wy, 40-41; 48; 61-63
 nbt krst, 49
 nšp, 95; 122; 176
 r-c b3k(w), 2; 28; 31; 183-85
 r (n t3) īnt, 22; 96; 104; 119; 146-
 149; 151; 153-55; 159-62;
 164; 167-69; 172; 176-77; 184
 rwdw (n bnr), 17; 64-65; 68-70; 77;
 80; 98; 100; 105; 176
 rwdw n p3 hr, 64; 73; 75; 78; 99-100
 105; 123-24
 rwdw n mryt, 64; 80
 rwdw n hnw, 64; 68; 75; 80
 rmt-īst (n p3 hr), 14; 16; 40-42;
 62; 86; 105; 181
 rmtw bnr, 67
 rmtw p3 hr, 15; 27; 67-68; 181
 h3ī, 89; 92; 102; 122-23; 138
 h3yt, 31
 h3ty-c m sp3t-nh^h, 51
 hwt Pr-c3, 121; 132
 hwt ms-ntrw, 52
 hwt nbw, 52; 148
 hwt ntrw, 52
 hmww, 181
 hmww n st-m3ct, 39; 42
 hnwt dww, 47-48
 hntyw/hwtyw, 15; 64; 66; 68-70; 73-
 75; 77; 79; 86; 101; 121-23;
 147-48; 183
 hry msī-sšt, 32-33
 hry md3yw, 1; 5; 69; 78; 101; 110;
 124; 148; 161; 174
 hry sšw-kdw, 64; 71; 73; 75
 hry k3wt m 3hty-nh^h, 52
 htr, 32-33
 htrīw (n p3 hr), 9; 16-17; 26; 99;
 100
 h3(y), 35
 h3st Gbtyw, 94
 hft hr nb.s, 48
 hnī (adj.), 7; 17; 64-67; 70; 73;
 127-28; 136; 177
 hnī (v.), 66; 128; 183
 hnr (n p3 hr), 9; 14; 16; 35
 hr, 1-3; 5; 7; 10-13; 23; 25-26; 29-
 32; 35; 37; 149; 161-62; 184
 p3 hr, 1-37; 38-46; 49; 51; 54-55;
 57-62; 64-66; 69; 80; 86; 88;
 90; 93; 95-96; 98; 100; 107;
 110-13; 117; 121-22; 126; 128;
 129; 133-35; 138-42; 160-61;
 169; 176-77; 184-85
 n3(w) p3 hr, 36; 181
 p3 hr c3 špsy..., 1; 4-8; 12; 14; 19;
 23; 25-29; 31; 142; 184
 htm (n.), 84-85; 94-95; 125
 htm (v.), 32; 85; 88; 96
 (p3) htm (n p3 hr), 8-9; 83-106; 107;
 111-16; 118; 123; 127; 137;
 148; 161; 166-67; 169; 171;
 176; 178; 184
 p3 htm n dmīt, 86-87; 90; 93; 96;
 116; 176

hnw, 17; 22; 61; 64-68; 77; 80;

121; 128; 131; 177

st n n3 řryw-c3, 118; 155

st c3t, 7; 47; 53-54; 131; 142;

184-85

st c3t n Pr-c3, 124; 126; 142; 184-85

st-m3ct, 37; 38-63; 97

st-nfrw, 6; 19; 21; 56; 127; 158; 186

st-nhḥ, 51

st nty řmnt, 186

st št3w, 51

s3wty, 115; 123-24

sp3t-nhḥ, 51

sp3t nt m3ct, 51

smw (n p3 hr), 15

smdt (n bnr), 17; 64; 68; 97; 109;

112-13; 116-18; 160; 172;

176; 179; 181

smdt n p3 hr, 15; 64; 181

snř (řnbt), 80; 121-23; 134; 138;

142; 147

Snmt, 94

shṭ, 25; 148-49; 153; 156; 165;

184-85

shṭ c3t, 153; 160; 164-65; 184;

186

sš, 26; 69; 105; 110; 124; 147-48

sš nswt m st-m3ct, 51; 61; 71

sš n hwt nbw, 148

sš n p3 hr, 4; 15; 24; 32; 61; 64-68;

70-77; 79; 124; 149

sš n p3 hr n bnr, 66; 68

sš n p3 hr hnř, 65-67; 73; 121; 136

sš n p3 hr n hnw, 65-67; 76-79; 101

sš (n p3 hṭm), 148

sš m/n st-m3ct, 39; 61

sš kdw (n p3 hr), 14; 67; 70-71; 75;

79; 105

sš kdw n GOD m st-m3ct, 38

sšw řsy n p3 hr, 1; 14-15

stm, 2

sđm-cš, 40-41; 48; 60-63

(t3) šnwt p3 hr, 87; 106

kbkb, 164-65

knbt (n p3 hr), 1; 15; 17; 20; 65;

67; 69; 80-82; 85; 88; 105;

108; 184

knbt bnr, 64-65; 81; 105; 176

kt_n, 1

r-gs, 39; 56

Tnt-řmntt, 48

I3rw, 94

Ikw, 94; 142

dmřt, 122; 134; 149; 154; 158; 160;

179; 184

dhnt, 47-48; 184

đbC, 149; 164; 183

3 PRIVATE NAMES

- ʔIpwy, father of ʔImn-nḥt, 76
 ʔImn-m-ʔpt, scribe, 51; 77
 ʔImn-nḥt, scribe, 32-34; 66; 73-74;
 76-77; 79; 81; 102; 112; 122;
 123; 135-36; 138; 146; 153,
 draughtsman(?), 105, deputy,
 124
 ʔImn-rḥ, craftsman, 39
 ʔImn-ḥtp, scribe, 5; 30
 ʔImn-ḥ^C(w), King's butler, 32; 34,
 scribe, 77, deputy/inspector,
 179, workman, 102
 ʔInpw-m-ḥb, scribe, 59; 61; 69; 78; 148
 ʔInny, 172
 ʔInḥr-ḥ^C, foreman, 47; 62
 C3-phṯy, deputy, 118
 C3-nḥtw, father of Ms, 139
 Wnn-nfr, scribe, 96; 116
 Wsr-m3ct-RC-nḥt, doorkeeper, 111-12
 Wsr-ḥ3t, workman, 102
 Wsr-ḥpš, assistant foreman, 20-22
 B3y, scribe, 72; 78
 P3-ʔry, workman, 96
 P3-wr-C3, mayor of W. Thebes, 6; 20;
 27; 124
 P3-bs, scribe, 76
 P3-nb, foreman, 14; 62; 72; 118, son
 of P3-nb, 118
 P3-nfr-m-ddt, scribe, 77
 P3-nḥsy, vizier, 24
 P3-RC-ḥr-wnm.f, prince, charioteer,
 1-2
 P3-sr, vizier, 52; 100, scribe, 69;
 78; 148, senior scribe, 104
 P3-šd, 62; 74
 P3-ds, scribe of treasury, 106
 P3y-Cnḥ, generalissimo, 2
 P3y-nḥsy, father of Nb-Smn, 101
 Pn-Cnḳt, workman, 183
 Pn-p3-ʔw, doorkeeper, 111-12
 Pn-Šḥmt, vizier, 148; 166
 Pn-t3-Wrt, scribe, 77-78; 110, door-
 keeper, 111-12, draughtsman,
 75
 Mntw-ms, chief of police, 5; 90-92;
 104
 Mry-ʔItmw, prince, great of seers, 2
 Mry-Pṯḥ, overseer of treasury, 148;
 166
 Mryt, wife of HC, 47
 Ms, workman, 139-40
 Nb-wnn.f, 125; 143
 Nb-mḥyt, son of P3-nb, 118
 Nb-Smn, chief of police, 101
 Nfr-rnpt, vizier, 30; 103
 Nfr-ḥr, 123
 Nfr-ḥtp, 3tw-officer, 146, scribe, 105
 Nḥw-m-Mwt, foreman, 62; 66; 135
 Nḥt-Mnw, workman, 14-15, chief of
 police, 69; 148
 RC-ms-sw-nḥt, high priest of Amon, 103
 Rm, chief craftsman, 104; 148-49; 166
 Hd-nḥt, scribe of mat, 91
 Ḥ3y, 81; 124, foreman, 72
 Ḥwy, 62, scribe of sculptors' work-
 shop, 148; 166
 Ḥnwt-dww, wife of Inḥr-ḥ^C, 47
 Ḥr-Mnw, draughtsman(?), 67
 Ḥr-ms, 36
 Ḥr², chief of police, 69; 148

- Hri[?], scribe, 68; 77; 87; 101-02,
 vizier, 135; 147; 153
 Hri[?]-šri[?], scribe, 73-74; 76-79
 H3wy, 62
 HC, chief of the Great Place, 47-48;
 53-54, 81
 HC-m-w3st, prince, stm, 2, door-
 keeper, 96; 111-12
 HC-m-Mn-nfr, 149
 HC-m-hdt, scribe, 124
 Hnsw, foreman, 89; 102; 105; 122
- K3-drt, guardian, 124
 K3h3, foreman, 62
 Kn, 48
 Kn-hr-hpš.f, scribe, 24
 K3-nht, scribe of reckoning of
 cattle, 26
 T3-cnw, 105
 Tws3, 62
 I3-c3, 111-13

4 DOCUMENTS

A. Ostraca

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Ashmolean 1945.37 + Michaelides 90 | Cairo 25247, 31; 146; 148; 152-53; |
| (=KRI II 381-83), 81 | 160 |
| _____ 1945.39 (=KRI V 587-88), 125; | _____ 25254 (=KRI VI 343), 163; 181 |
| 135; 141; 143 | _____ 25255, 100 |
| Berlin 9897, 146-47; 152; 160 | _____ 25263, 83; 86; 106 |
| _____ 10633 (=KRI V 529-30), 130 | _____ 25264, 69; 80; 114 |
| _____ 10645 + '46 (KRI V 527-28), 66 | _____ 25273 (=KRI VI 145), 83; 87; 98 |
| _____ 10655 (=KRI V 573-74), 118 | _____ 25276, 152 |
| _____ 10663 (=KRI V 559), 112 | _____ 25278, 21 |
| _____ 12654 (=KRI VI 344-45), 57; | _____ 25290 bis, 136 |
| 73; 77; 79; 83; 85; 87; 98-99 | _____ 25291 (=KRI VI 143), 21 |
| 103; 108; 180-81 | _____ 25302, 82; 146; 148; 152-53; |
| _____ 14214 (=KRI V 576-77), 65; 81; | 155-56; 161; 178 |
| 108; 112 | _____ 25504 (=KRI IV 155-58), 1; 14; |
| British Museum 5624 (=KRI V 475-76), | 19; 69; 78; 83; 87; 93; 98-100; |
| 19; 147; 158; 175; 178 | 103-04; 146; 148; 152; 154; |
| _____ 5625 (=KRI VI 252-53), 78; 158 | 162-63; 165-68; 172 |
| _____ 5631, 37 | _____ 25515, 76 |
| _____ 5634 (=KRI III 515-25), 182 | _____ 25518, 21 |
| _____ 5637 (=KRI V 577), 80 | _____ 25530 (=KRI V 542), 73; 91; |
| _____ 5672 + Cairo 25649, 27 | 120; 123; 130; 133; 135; 152 |
| _____ 50722 + Cairo 25726 (=KRI VI | _____ 25533 (=KRI VI 175-77), 120; |
| 364), 16; 83; 87; 103 | 123; 135 |
| _____ 50734 + Cairo 25673 + Gardiner | _____ 25539 (=KRI IV 171-72), 88 |
| 99 (=KRI V 563-64), 83; 86; | _____ 25552 (=KRI IV 154), 152 |
| 98; 106; 179 | _____ 25553 (=KRI V 454), 65; 78; 183 |
| _____ 65930 (=KRI IV 315-17), 35; | _____ 25554, 152 |
| 80-81 | _____ 25557 (=KRI V 569), 152 |
| _____ 65938 (=KRI V 471-72), 80 | _____ 25559 (=KRI VI 104), 146; 152; |
| Cairo J.72460 (=KRI II 855-56), 2 | 153; 156-59 |
| _____ 25202 (=KRI VI 152-53), 55 | _____ 25560, 152 |
| _____ 25234 (=KRI VI 370), 177; | _____ 25563 (=KRI VI 136), 79; 105; |
| 179-80 | 152 |
| _____ 25237 (=KRI III 529-30), 78 | _____ 25565 (=KRI VI 142-43), 80; 103 |

ostraca

Cairo 25573 (=KRI III 531), 76
 _____ 25580 (=KRI VI 150), 20; 103
 _____ 25581 (=KRI IV 151-52), 1; 64;
 _____ 89; 181
 _____ 25589 (=KRI V 436), 152
 _____ 25608, 74
 _____ 25621, 41
 _____ 25646 (=KRI II 700), 152
 _____ 25673, see BM 50734
 _____ 25676, 5
 _____ 25723, 81
 _____ 25726, see BM 50722
 _____ 25746, 21
 _____ 25764, 26; 47; 52
 _____ 25788 (=KRI IV 158-59), 146;
 _____ 149; 152-53
 _____ 25792, 146-47; 152-53; 159-60;
 _____ 174
 _____ 25800 (=KRI VI 257), 73; 75
 _____ 25828, 89
 _____ 25831, 120; 123; 135; 141; 178
 _____ 25832 (=KRI III 44-45), 24;
 _____ 124; 136; 142
 Deir el-Medina 35 (=KRI V 520-21),
 _____ 92
 _____ 36 (=KRI V 547-48), 136
 _____ 38 (=KRI V 551-2), 77; 120;
 _____ 123; 126; 130; 135
 _____ 39 (=KRI V 552-3), 126
 _____ 40 (=KRI VI 106-07), 83; 86;
 _____ 98-99; 103; 174
 _____ 41 (=KRI VI 107-09), 100
 _____ 44 (=KRI VI 116-19), 20
 _____ 45 (=KRI VI 119-21), 25; 83;
 _____ 86; 98; 106
 _____ 57 (=KRI V 554), 140

Deir el-Medina 61 (=KRI III 546), 140
 _____ 103, 83; 86
 _____ 114 (=KRI III 45-46), 64; 83;
 _____ 86-87; 93; 98; 100; 103-04
 _____ 133 (=KRI VI 425-26), 118
 _____ 141, 74
 _____ 148 (=KRI V 505-06), 20; 33;
 _____ 81; 156; 183
 _____ 161 + Strassburg H.82 (=KRI VI,
 _____ 114-15), 83; 86-87; 103
 _____ 177 (=KRI IV 216-17), 99; 106
 _____ 180 (=KRI VI 174), 74
 _____ 225 (=KRI VI 157-58), 78
 _____ 252, 83; 85-86; 99; 106
 _____ 276 (=KRI V 622-23), 16; 99;
 _____ 106
 _____ 284 (=KRI V 529), 81
 _____ 303 (=KRI III 534), 54
 _____ 324 (=KRI III 538-39), 80
 _____ 330 (=KRI V 534), 131
 _____ 339 (=KRI V 618-19), 86; 96;
 _____ 116
 _____ 380 (=KRI VI 127-28), 74; 83;
 _____ 86-87; 98; 100
 _____ 381 (=KRI VI 140-41), 74
 _____ 382 (=KRI V 601), 74
 _____ 386, 83
 _____ 401 (=KRI VI 125), 156
 _____ 427 (=KRI V 521-23), 81; 83;
 _____ 86; 98
 _____ 564 (=KRI V 451), 140
 _____ 570 (=KRI VI 664), 83; 85; 87;
 _____ 105
 _____ 571, 83; 87; 93; 104; 120; 123;
 _____ 135; 137-38
 _____ 582, 83; 86; 103

ostraca

Deir el-Medina 621 + IFAO 1080 (=KRI

III 528-29; IV 152), 74

_____ 651, 83

_____ 1252 + Florence 2617 + Turin

6620; 6838; 6851, 147

Edgerton 14 (=KRI VI 253), 172

Florence 2617, see DM 1252

_____ 2621 (=KRI V 478-80), 147

Gardiner 7, 125; 136; 143

_____ 11 (=KRI VI 248-49), 21

_____ 13 (=KRI III 29-30), 64; 99-100

_____ 23 (=KRI VI 663), 83

_____ 31 (=KRI III 558-59), 157

_____ 53 (=KRI V 484), 75; 80

_____ 54 (=KRI V 473-74), 108

_____ 57, 72; 78

_____ 64 (=KRI IV 161), 120; 125;

135-36

_____ 70, 5; 30; 75

_____ 99, see BM 50734

_____ 137 (=KRI VI 251), 118

_____ 153, 54; 154

_____ 221, 164; 182

Geneva 12550 (=KRI V 452-53), 81

HO 8.5 (=Černý/Gardiner HO, pl. VIII.5)

see Gardiner 31

_____ 22.1, see Gardiner 7

_____ 25.2, see Gardiner 11

_____ 30, see Gardiner 13

_____ 31.1, see Queen's College 1115

_____ 43.4, see Gardiner 23

_____ 46.2, see BM 65930

_____ 48.1, see Gardiner 70

_____ 49.1, see Gardiner 53

_____ 49.2, see Gardiner 64

_____ 49.3, see Gardiner 54

_____ 51.1, see Gardiner 57

HO 53.2, see BM 65938

_____ 55.2, see Edgerton 14

_____ 56.3, see Gardiner 137

_____ 66.3, see Petrie 73

_____ 67.1, see BM 50734

_____ 68.1, see BM 50722

_____ 69.1, see BM 5672

_____ 72.1, see Ashmolean 1945.39

_____ 72.4, see Levi de Benzion

_____ 73.2, see Petrie 62

_____ 74-75, see Ashmolean 1945.37

_____ 77, see OIC 12.073

_____ 78-79, see OIC 12.074

_____ 83-84, see BM 5634

_____ 88, see BM 5631

IFAO 383, 5; 27

_____ 628 + Vienna Aeg.1. (=KRI V

504-05), 164

_____ 868, 67

_____ 1206, 182

_____ 1357 (=KRI IV 162), 21

_____ 2188, see OIC 12.074

Levi de Benzion, 84; 86-87

Michaelides 1 (=KRI V 451-52), 83;

85; 88; 98; 105

_____ 47 (=KRI III 514-15), 1; 15;

67

_____ 66 (=KRI III 29; IV 178), 68

_____ 73 (=KRI V 556), 84; 86-87;

98

_____ 79 (=KRI VI 254), 67

_____ 90, see Ashmolean 1945.37

Nash 1, see BM 65930

_____ 5, see BM 65938

Nicholson Museum R.97 (=KRI VI 151-

152), 20; 79-80; 83; 98; 136

Or. Inst. Chicago 12.073, 65; 68

ostraca-papyri

- Or. Inst. Chicago 12.074 + IFAO 2188 (=KRI Turin 5638 (=N.57018), 1
 VI 215-17), 120; 125; 136; 141 _____ 5650 (=N.57027) (=KRI V
 _____ 16.991 (=KRI V 559-60), 10; 158 486), 165; 177
 Petrie 60, -see Cairo 25553 _____ 5654 (=N.57031) (=KRI V
 _____ 62, 84-87; 106 502-03), 1-2; 165; 177
 _____ 73 (=KRI VI 170), 21; 108 _____ 5664 (=N.57037) (=KRI V
 Queen's College 1115 (=KRI VI 167-68), 621), 2
 84-87; 105 _____ 6361 (=N.57068) (=KRI V
 Strassburg H.82, see DM 161 448), 84-86; 106
 Toronto A 11 (=KRI III 31; 40-44), 124; _____ 6620 + 6838 + 6851, see
 136; 142; 175 DM 1252
 Turin 2162 + 2164 (=N.57002) (=KRI VI _____ 9592 (=N.57366), 146; 149;
 247-48), 122 152; 161; 172
 _____ 2167 (=N.57006), 21 _____ 9611 (=KRI V 469-70), 75
 _____ 2168 (=N.57007) (=KRI V 526-27; Univ. College 19614 (=KRI V 1-2),
 533-34), 131 80
 Vienna Aeg.1, see IFAO 628

B. Papyri

- Abbott (=KRI VI 468-81), 1; 6; 14; 19;
 20-22; 27; 131; 152; 162; 173
 Ambras (=KRI VI 826-37), 2
 Anastasi I, 94
 _____ III, 94
 _____ V, 125; 136; 142
 _____ VI, 94
 Ashmolean 1945.97 (=KRI VI 236-43), 183
 Berlin 10496 (=KRI V 476-78), 140; 147;
 178
 Bibl. Nat. 237 I (2) 5 (=KRI VI 339-40),
 75; 105
 British Museum 10052 (=KRI VI 767-803),
 42
 _____ 10053 (=KRI VI 506-14), 42
 _____ 10055, see Salt 124
 British Museum 10060, see Harris
 500
 _____ 10063, 64
 _____ 10183, see d'Orbiney
 _____ 10221, see Abbott
 _____ 10244, see Anastasi V
 _____ 10246, see Anastasi III
 _____ 10247, see Anastasi I
 Cairo 58057 (=KRI I 238), 81
 Chabas-Leiblin, see "Giornale"
 Chester Beatty III (=KRI IV 85),
 24; 124; 136; 142
 Deir el-Medina 24 (=KRI VI 132-
 36), 20; 103
 _____ 26 (=KRI V 461-66), 84-87;
 99

papyri-graffiti

- Deir el-Medina 27 (=KRI V 578-79), 69;
 81
 _____ 28, 66
 _____ 29, 183
 Geneva MAH 15274 (=KRI VI 132-36: 143-
 148), 57; 77; 83; 89; 98
 "Giornale" (=KRI VI 560-98; 687-99; 850-
 851), pl. 11, 75; pl. 12, 132;
 pl.14, 22; 120; 124; 135-36; 142;
 152; pl. 15, 68; pl. 24, 30;
 pl. 57, 28
 Harris I, 132
 _____ 500, 32
 Mayer A (=KRI VI 803-28), 34-35
 _____ B (=KRI VI 515-16), 30; 37
 d'Orbiney (=KRI IV 82), 150
 Salt 124, 8; 14; 35; 118; 125; 136;
 143; 164; 174; 182; 186
 Turin 1879 rto (Gold mines), 39; 56;
 83; 97; vso (Pleyte & Rossi
 pl. 33), 14
 _____ 1880 (Strikes), 14-16; 20; 73-74;
 77-78; 80-81; 83-87; 89-91; 98-
 102; 108; 110-12; 114; 116-17;
 120-23; 129-40; 174; 183
 Turin 1881 rto (=KRI VI 609-19),
 75
 _____ 1888, 147
 _____ 1898, see "Giornale"
 _____ 1903/180, 27
 _____ 1907 + 1908 (=KRI VI 403-09),
 83; 85; 87; 98; 106
 _____ 1923 (=KRI VI 367-68), 146;
 149; 152; 163-65; 182
 _____ 1949 + 1946 (=KRI V 557-58;
 VI 880 addenda), 104
 _____ 1976 (=KRI VI 598-99), 33
 _____ 1978/208, 1; 14
 _____ 2002 (part =KRI VI 244-45),
 32; 39; 58; 174
 _____ 2018 (=KRI VI 851-63), 116
 _____ 2021, (=KRI VI 738-42), 174
 _____ 2044 (=KRI VI 340-43), 41;
 57; 103; 180
 _____ 2071/224 + 1960 (=KRI VI
 641-44; 637-38), 15; 27;
 74-75
 _____ 2078/161,162; 2082/177;
 2083/178-79,181,183, see
 "Giornale"
 Vienna 30, see Ambras

C. Graffiti (Theban)

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 76, 19 | 968, 150 | 1860a, 20; 66; | 2577, 52 |
| 78, 149; 152-54 | 1110, 151-52 | 182-83 | 2596, 52 |
| 164-65 | 1310-20, 19 | 1960, 52 | 2661, 52 |
| 83, 165 | 1359, 152 | 2006, 52 | 2836, 52 |
| 790, 83 | 1689, 52 | 2026, 52 | Marciniak DB 8, 47 |
| 897, 149; 151-54 | 1697, 52 | 2138, 152 | |
| 164 | 1723, 52 | 2384, 75 | |
| 920-987, 19 | 1806, 14; 67 | 2538, 52 | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. A topographical map of the Theban Necropolis
2. The village of Deir el-Medina - A view to the north
3. A topographical map of the region of Deir el-Medina

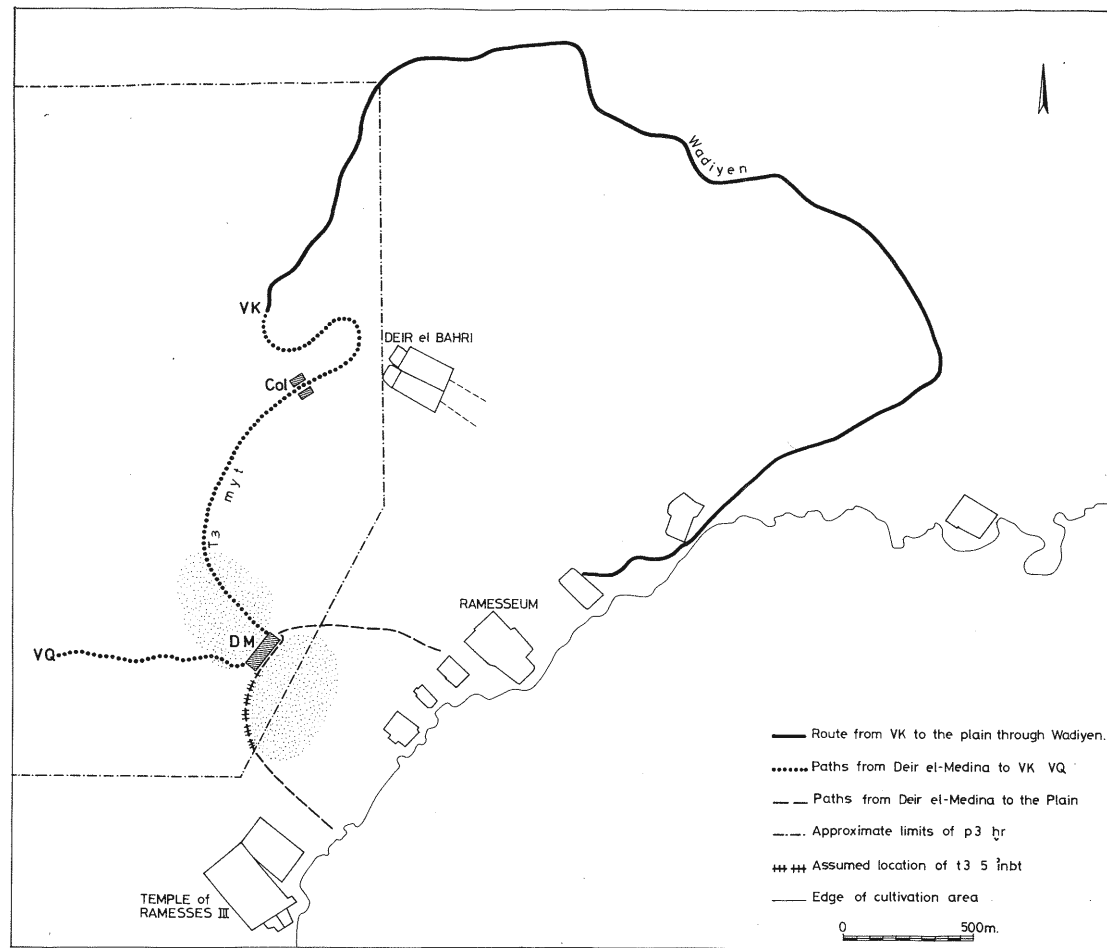


Fig 1



Fig.2

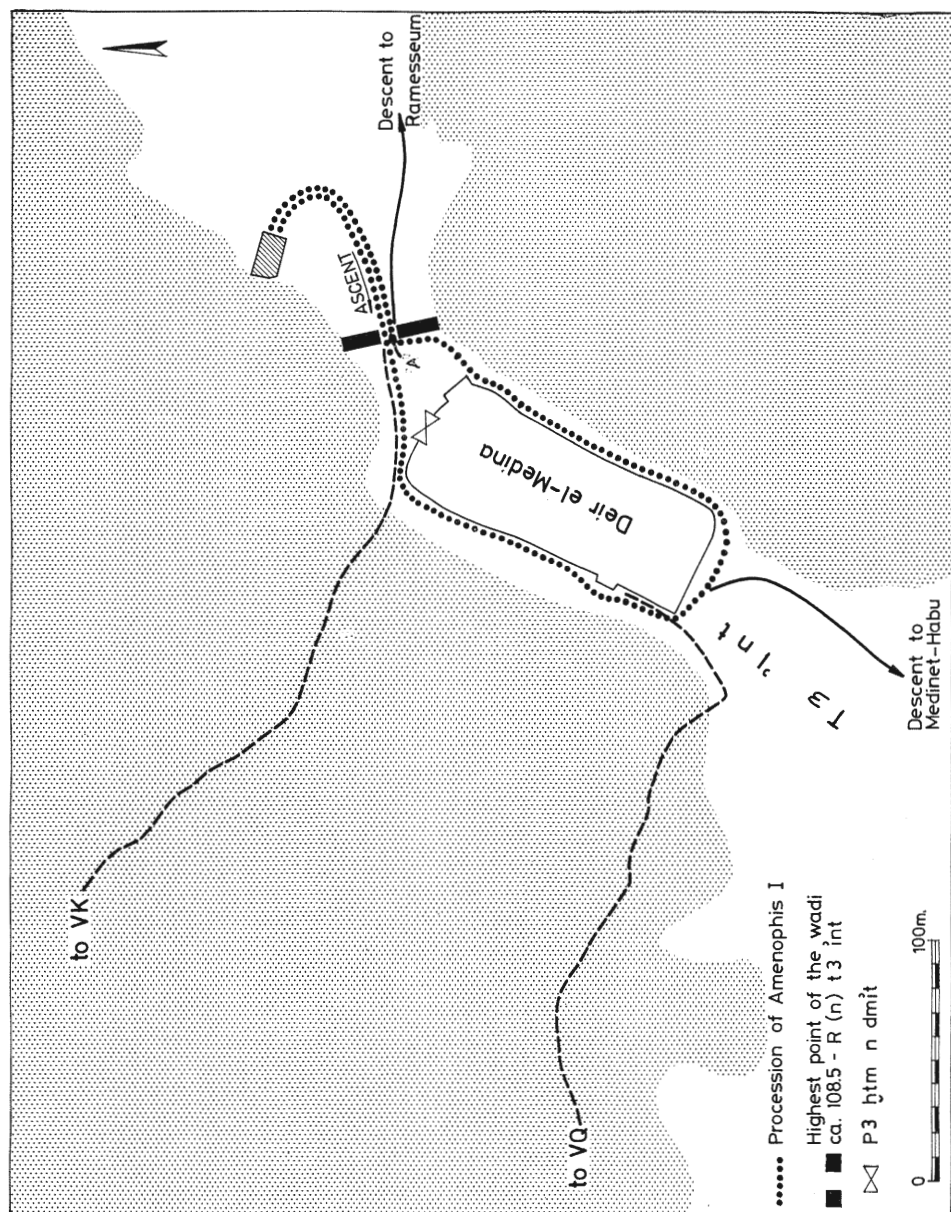


Fig. 3

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